

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1885.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE COMING ELECTION.

THE Editor of the *Scottish Review* has asked me to write a few pages about the *Church of Scotland and the Coming Election*. I have been reluctant to do so for several reasons. There are times when one gets wearied of thrashing the old straw of controversy; and in holiday time one would fain take holiday from Politics above all things. I have written a great deal about the Church of Scotland and the assaults to which it has been subjected in recent years. I have done so under a strong sense of duty, and because both the interests of the Church and the interests of true Liberalism, in my opinion, were concerned in the character of these assaults. I have certainly not done so from any love of contention, or desire to thrust the Church question forward into the political arena. It has suited others to say this; but the 'discerning public' has not been deceived. There is one party, and one party alone, that has thrust the question forward, and forced upon myself and others who love the Church and care for it as a national institution the duty of defending it.

I can honestly say that an instinct of justice and of revolt against a series of inconsistent and unfair accusations, has moved me more than anything else. For long it was the numerical weakness of the Church, and then its lax theology, and then again its Conservative proclivities, which were made the subject of attack. Any stick seemed good enough to beat the old Kirk with. In succession the sticks have broken in the

hands of the assailants. The large and continually increasing number of the communicants and adherents of the Church of Scotland, greatly outnumbering all those of her Presbyterian rivals together; the soundness and zeal of her general teaching and ministry; and her generous concessions to her sister Churches in the name of the only religious equality that has any meaning, have been demonstrated in the eyes of all candid men. The more her position has been looked at, and her work examined, the more national and beneficent has it appeared. On almost every practical ground she has more than justified her existence. The undoubted sectarianism in which the attacks upon her originated eleven years ago, at the time of the Repeal of the Patronage Act, has been acknowledged by the confession of those organs of the Press least disposed to assist her. Sectarian aggression has accordingly collapsed, and gone for a time at least into abeyance, if only in hope that more formidable forces of destruction are about to appear on the field.

If I have borne any share in this work of defence, it has been on the broadest grounds of public policy, and because I have felt, as I still feel, that whatever future may be before the Church of Scotland in the changing fortunes awaiting our national life, nothing but harm could have come to that life from the triumph of a 'confederacy' of ecclesiastical factions. The progress of Liberal thought, without which, in my opinion, there can be no true Liberalism in politics, would have been retarded and the tone of religious and social feeling greatly deteriorated.

That there should ever have been a chance of alliance between the Liberal party and the aggressive ecclesiasticism of Scotland was, in my opinion, discreditable to Liberalism; and I did not hesitate to say so. *That* danger is past; although those who know of certain intrigues, more than once attempted, but which were especially busy in 1878, cannot say that there was not at one time some danger of their being successful. I felt moved to oppose such intrigues by my feelings as a Liberal,—in the sense in which I have always understood Liberalism as pre-eminently *fair dealing*,—quite as much as

by my deep respect and love for the Church of Scotland—great as these are. It seemed to me a monstrous thing that a national institution which has been an untold blessing, and which, of all the institutions in the country, pre-eminently belongs to the people and exists for their good, should be sacrificed to the virulence of either ecclesiastical or political factions, or of both together. If the time should ever come when *the people themselves* shall declare in an unmistakeable manner that they no longer wish the continuance of the Church of Scotland, this becomes another question altogether. But that time has plainly not come as yet; and the people of Scotland are evidently resolved that the Church shall have, as Mr. Gladstone said, a 'fair trial.'

In the meantime, the attitude of Liberal Churchmen, like myself, is not only defensible on Liberal principles, but is the only attitude consistent with Liberalism. It is necessary to say so in the view of persistent misrepresentation and the tissue of commonplaces which pass for wisdom in modern politics. It is complacently assumed by Radicals and Conservatives alike that the political way is an easy way, patent to all; that men have only to choose their side and go on at a more or less ready pace with their party. This tendency has been greatly increased by the influence of the Penny Press, which, whatever its other merits, seldom invites its readers to any dispassionate inquiry or argument. Certain courses, because they are the courses of the Party to which they belong, are not only accepted, but declared to be necessarily right and just. Nay, the fact that one course is followed to-day, and another very much the reverse is followed to-morrow, hardly affects this hardihood of partisanship; and black is made white, and white black, just as it suits the exigencies of the political moment. All this goes on too while moderate and reasonable men on both sides are privately lamenting and condemning the vacillations or extremes into which their party may be running. The system of common 'cry'—like an army in battle, rather than a combination of men in search of the best way of advance—is not, I think, ominous of good. There may be times when

there is nothing for it but to join battle and roar as loudly as possible on the side to which you belong; but such are times of great abuses or of urgent practical reform. It is a mere pretence to say that we any longer live in such times, whatever advances may still be before us. Instead of more of party unity, it seems to me that we need more of party freedom and independence.* We need more thought and less clamour and mere blind combination, more reason and less commonplace. For who really believe, after all, whatever they may say, that the right is always on one side, or that the political sheep and goats are so easily divided as candidates for constituencies assure us.

It is a necessary result of extreme party spirit that unscrupulous men give themselves to what is called the manufacture of public opinion, and that faction takes the place of policy and reasonable reform. Theories are pushed to the front, and audacity supplants sense and experience. Illustrations of this tendency might be given from both sides of politics in a time like ours; but we are only concerned with the Church question at present. There is no man who really knows Scotland and what has been going on in it during the last thirty years, who does not also know that almost any time since the Secession of 1843 it would have been more reasonable to have proposed the abolition of the Church than during the last eleven years—since the right of appointment to parishes and the control of the ecclesiastical life of the country was put into the hands of the people. The policy which accomplished this under a Conservative Government, especially its motives, may be disputed; but it is impossible to dispute that the result was to remove a long-standing grievance, and greatly to strengthen the popular basis of the Establishment. If anger

* 'Part of the theory of Liberal Associations is that their members are representatives of all sections of Liberal opinion. It is not correct. . . . But suppose they were representative, 'the ugly fact remains, that as Associations they know nothing beforehand of resolutions to be proposed at public meetings.'—*Scotsman*, September 16. The whole business of Liberal combination is becoming too great a farce to impose upon reasonable people.

rather than thanksgiving was evoked in certain quarters, and resentment rather than co-operation followed, these feelings were not shared by the people. They have gratefully accepted the abolition of patronage as a boon; and used, upon the whole, with discretion the rights regained by them. It is impossible, indeed, to imagine a Church based on a more popular foundation than that of the Church of Scotland, or one in which grievances of any kind still existing might be more surely removed in obedience to the popular will.

To propose at such a time that the Church should be destroyed, and its funds applied to other purposes, is unaccountable on any grounds of reason. But the spirit of ecclesiastical faction is always rife in Scotland, and the mere fact that the Church had been popularized, became an impelling motive for seeking its overthrow. It appeared intolerable that a boon which had been refused more than a generation before, should be granted to a new generation. It was no matter that the Church had entirely changed, or that Statesmen, both Conservative and Liberal, had come greatly more under the influence of popular sentiment. Churchmen were made responsible for the sins of their fathers; and a boon which was once the gage of Liberalism became the mark of a worse servitude than the Church had yet known. And what was still more strange, there were Statesmen of high position who lent their countenance to this sectarian insanity, and actually alleged that a definite impulse had been rightfully given to the question of Disestablishment by the Act abolishing Patronage. To an old Liberal like myself, who had always been interested in the cause of the people—in respect of Patronage as of other things—but who had no part in any agitation for its removal, beyond trying to moderate that agitation—this has always appeared to me an astonishing fact, not to be accounted for certainly by any excess of Liberalism, but by that baser mixture of partisanship which so often clouds it. If the Abolition of Patronage was ever a Liberal measure, it could not be less so in 1874 than at any previous period. It did not matter in the least from whose hands it came, or what were the motives—which must always remain

largely conjectural—which prompted it. If popular rights were Liberal rights in 1840, they were equally Liberal in 1874. The measure claimed to be judged by itself, and not by assumed relation to the balance of parties on one side or another. Even if there were illiberal motives at its root, it required but a small share of political experience to know that the very action of the measure itself—as has proved to be the case—would tend to defeat such motives, and generate rather than retard the growth of popular feeling.

It is not wonderful that men who were both Liberals and Churchmen felt their attachment to the Church only grow stronger in such circumstances. They may have had doubts about the value of popular election. They had certainly no sympathy with the unreasoning haste with which some of the older school, who had been conspicuous for their blind ecclesiastical Toryism in past days, passed from one side to the other on the question; but the sectarian feeling which had sprung up in opposition to the measure because it might strengthen the Church and render it more popular, was one strongly inimical to them. It was an essentially illiberal feeling, as it has done more than anything else to goad the agitation against the Church which has since proceeded. It deserved at their hands, therefore, nothing but opposition.

I have thought it necessary to say so much as to the history of the agitation against the Church, because nothing is so soon forgotten in these days as the history of recent events.* I do not myself care to apologise for my own attitude. I have been a Liberal all my life. That my Liberalism may not please those whose attitude in religious thought and otherwise shows that they hardly know the meaning of Liberalism, is to me a matter of no concern. Liberalism is not, in my opinion, made by party

* Witness the clamour for the application of the Church funds to Free Education on the part of those who were loudest for a system of school rating, as the only means of subverting the old connection between the Church, the heritors, and the schools. 'Give us rates,' they virtually said. 'We thankfully accept them as the condition of having education in our own hands.' Now the cry is: 'Give us the Church funds to relieve the rates and fees, which we find heavy.'

action, but by a free and just spirit; and nothing may be more inconsistent with a genuine Liberalism than a party cry, from whatever side the cry comes. But I have wished to say a word for many who, like myself, are warm in defence of the Church. Such warmth is, to party politicians, inexcusable. It is certainly embarrassing to them. But what if the country is suffering from an idolatry of party on one side and the other, which has banished some of our ablest and wisest Statesmen from political service. The spectacle of men on both sides pushing themselves to the front — not because they know affairs better than others, or have shown that they are wiser in dealing with them—but because they can brazen either Socialistic or other platitudes more loudly, is not a pleasant spectacle. There is danger enough in being dragged at the tail of any ‘cry’—which, just because it is a cry, is probably as much wrong as it is right—but to be dragged against your better reason, is opposed to every instinct of true Liberalism.

Church Liberals, therefore, are right to maintain their attitude, and they need care little for persistent misrepresentation, or such flippancies as they have been lately honoured with. There are creatures so poor minded as to fancy, and even say, that the real explanation of the zeal of certain prominent Churchmen is the social position which accrues to them from connection with the Church, or even the share of champagne that they get at Holyrood during the Assembly time. They are ‘pampered parsons,’ it seems, and they grudge being brought down to the lower Disestablishment table which the Radicals would provide for them. The vagaries of dilettante politics, quickened by Colonial experience, are beyond imagination. There must, I suppose, be some sly joke involved, although I do not myself see it. The parish ministers of Scotland, living, on an average, on little more than £200 a year, are so ‘pampered’ that they cannot see the rights of others as well as their own. God knows it is poor ‘pampering.’ It would be well that some fledgling Radicals enjoyed it for a little. It might help to clear their political as well as their spiritual vision. But such poor stuff as this hardly deserves notice. Jokes about champagne

will certainly not contribute to the settlement of the Church question in Scotland. It is strange that any one, and any Scotsman in particular, should have difficulty in understanding why there should be a keen enthusiasm on behalf of a Church dear to thousands, and even some measure of resentment at crude and impracticable attempts to dispose of that Church as if it were an accident—and a bad accident—in the history and national life of Scotland. The Church of Scotland is still to many a great national institution, and its defence an inspiring motive of public work. Even Radical Philistinism might be able to conceive, if it cannot appreciate the just indignation which foolish speeches against such an institution may provoke. The folly may not itself deserve reply; and all are at liberty to think as they like about Disestablishment or anything else; but the public discussion of grave questions demands always a certain measure of courtesy and respectful regard for the attitude and the opinions of others.*

It is our contention throughout this paper, that the Church of Scotland, as a national institution, can only be dealt with on

* I would fain have been spared any direct allusion to Lord Lorne's paper on 'Disestablishment' in the last number of this Review. It could hardly have been to any one a more painful surprise than it was to me. In 1878 his Lordship addressed a letter to me, without any apparent request on my part—although I may have forgotten this—requesting that his name should be added to a committee for affirming 'the principle of a State recognition of the Presbyterian form of the Church of Scotland.' I had no reason on such a ground to consider him a warm friend of the Established Church, but I had good right on this and other grounds to think that he would bring to the discussion of the claims of the Church a generous spirit, as well as some knowledge and ability. How disappointing his Lordship's article is in all these respects, it is impossible to say. Still more impossible is it for me to describe its tone about 'pampered parsons,' 'irascible Establishes,' 'State Pap,' 'phrenzied theological philosophers,' 'that pleasant month of backbiting when the Assemblies are congregated,' 'rival Assemblies opening their Session with prayer, and hissing at each other across the street.' I had hoped that Lord Lorne by this time would have regretted such expressions, as well as the general irrelevancy of his paper. But he is apparently so well pleased with it as to have issued it as a separate publication. It is well, therefore, that he should understand how truly offensive it is to many besides Dr. Story, and how little it is calculated to advance either the question discussed or his own reputation.

national grounds. To sacrifice it to any party exigencies, on one side or another, would be disgraceful to those who attempted to do so, and instead of allaying the long-continued ecclesiastical fever in Scotland, could only exacerbate that fever and retard rather than advance the wellbeing of the country. If I were writing generally on the subject I might say much on the principle involved in the question of ecclesiastical Establishments, on the growing prosperity of the Church, and the claims which it has to consideration. I might point out how entirely from the beginning the Disestablishment agitation in Scotland has been a clerical and not a popular agitation, how the parish churches, notwithstanding all allegations to the contrary, are really the churches of the poor and rural middle class rather than of the rich and well to do—how they are means of civilising and Christian good, the full effects of which will never be known till the parochial machinery is broken up,—in comparison with which any so-called boon of Free Education (which besides would prove a dream) is not to be mentioned. I might speak of these and other things, because I know them. But at present, and in the face of the Parliamentary Election before us, I wish merely to dwell on the fact that the Church of Scotland exists now, as it has always done, with the consent of the Scottish people and as *the Church of the people*. It is supported, after all the changes and dismemberments which have overtaken it (which have mainly come from *political* intrigue) by a majority of the people. Hundreds and thousands who may not belong to its communion are yet satisfied that it should exist and continue its good work. This *has been proved* as much as it is possible to prove anything of the kind.

In such circumstances—apart from all other considerations—the Church deserves to exist on all principles of Liberalism, so far as I understand them. It is asserted, and I do not discredit the assertion, that the Conservative Party are resolved to maintain the National Church as a part of their programme. They would maintain it as they maintain the Constitution, and their principle, in this respect, I think a right principle; although, in these days of Democ-

racy, I do not see how any one party more than another can maintain the Church or anything else save on a popular basis. I am content, therefore, to occupy this basis. Politically speaking, and writing as I now am, I am content that the fate of the Church of Scotland should be settled according to the popular will. But it must not be assumed (as it is constantly assumed) that popular and party will are identical. It is an unhappy characteristic of our party system—it is a law of nature, political as well as physical—that the loudest men are the men most heard. But it is certainly no law of nature—in this respect nature generally works by an inverse law—that the loudest are the wisest or the best men. They are not even the most truly representative,—forward, as they are, at all times to speak for others. Party passions are easily manipulated; party movement easily set agoing. The extent to which this game has already been played in the Church question, as well as others in our day, is almost incredible to those who have not for themselves looked into the facts. It is happily true also that the game is apt to exhaust itself in its very excess, and that there is a safety valve in the returning common sense of the people when time is given them to reflect. Politics would be a bad business otherwise, in which few honest men could engage.

The deliberate will of the people, therefore, is to be carefully discriminated from any cry of a section assuming to represent the people; and when the fate of a National Institution is at stake, something which has long stood before the people as a familiar condition of their existence—the possibility of losing which they have difficulty in realizing—it is especially important to make this distinction. In emphasising it we do not have in view any special mode of ascertaining the true voice of the people. We have no fancy for what are called plebescites, nor do we know in our constitutional history of any other mode of ascertaining the popular will than by putting to the people a plain question at the poll, as to what they wish. But the question must be at once plain and distinct before the answer given can be either true or valid. If not the sole, it must yet be the main, issue at a General

Election, and must come from a responsible Government, which alone can have a right to put such a question and to give any effect to the answer returned.

Another thing must be said, which is constantly forgotten, that on such a question as the continuance or removal of an National Institution, there is something in the very nature of the question which transcends mere party lines. If I am a member of the Liberal party, and, as such, have long contended for the removal of some political abuse, or the gain of some political reform, I am not bound to consider the fact that thousands belonging to the opposite party are in favour of the said abuse or against the said reform. The upholders of the Corn Law system, for example, or the opponents of the first Reform Bill, deserved no consideration at the hands of repealers and reformers when their day of triumph came. It was not only that the question had been thoroughly reasoned out from every point of view, but that the nature of the question was such as to admit of a definite conclusion: right on the one side, wrong on the other. The existence of a National Institution established by the will of the people, and long continued with their consent, raises another kind of question. Not merely the Liberal party, or any mere party, but the whole country and people are entitled to have a distinct and deliberate voice in the settlement of such a question. It is not Liberalism, but something the very reverse, for any party, even were it united, still less for a mere section of that party, to hurry such a question to a decision. It cannot do so without trampling on convictions, to say the least, as sacred and as well entitled to be heard as those that animate itself. The only justification of such a course would be that the institution was a confessed failure in itself, and an oppression to others. There is no pretence of the Established Church of Scotland being such an institution.

But, it is said, an Established Church favours a certain section of the community, and this of itself is an injury and injustice. It is a 'monopoly.' It appropriates national

revenues to its own uses alone, and thereby violates the principle of religious equality.

There are many points raised in a statement of this kind, every one of which is open to challenge, commonplace as it may have become on Disestablishment platforms. In what respect does the Established Church only belong to a section of the community, seeing that its doors are open to all—that all not only may claim, but are entitled to claim the services of its ministers and the benefit of its ritual? How is that a 'monopoly' in which all are free to share? Can people be said with any sense to be deprived of what they have openly abandoned? And is their abandonment, under motives, it may be, in the highest degree creditable to themselves, of the privileges of an Established Church any reason for depriving others of those privileges who still earnestly cherish and prize them? Whatever privilege there may be in a National Church, it is a privilege which has not been created, so far as the present generation is concerned, by any Government. It is part of a common national inheritance. It is mere nonsense to talk of the State favouring one section of Presbyterians at the expense of another. What is really the fact is, that of a common inheritance, some are content with it and some not. Surely the 'contents' have rights as well as the 'non-contents.' Will it make religious equality to deprive the former of their national inheritance because others have rejected it? Is the justice to be all on one side? Is the heir to be disinherited because the wilful son has gone away, and won't have the portion of his father's goods which is his due? It is impossible to ignore this historical aspect of the question. It is the only true aspect of it. Only put the matter in its true perspective, and the alleged grievance more than half disappears. The same remark applies to another point of which much has lately been made—what has been elegantly termed 'the Ecclesiastical glut of ministration in Scotland.' But who has made the glut if there is such a thing? Certainly not the National Church. Here and elsewhere it is so convenient to forget history and the unwise excess with which the Free

Church sought to plant down everywhere a rival to the Parish Church.

In what sense, again, can the teinds be said to be national revenue? No doubt they belong to the nation in the end, as all things do. They may be reappropriated by the nation on the principle that all trust money may be appropriated and distributed afresh, so as better to serve national purposes. I am not concerned to deny any such principle. I have always strongly advocated the right of the State to revise and lay out educational trust money for the better good of the country. But must not this always be done with caution and a due regard to the special interests involved, and especially the interests of the poor, who are for the most part the primary beneficiaries in such bequests? Has not the Radical chief who is most disposed to press the question of Disestablishment raised quite recently, a very loud, if, it must be owned, very ignorant cry on this very point. It is the people of our parishes, and, above all, the poor of those parishes, who are primarily interested in the religious education provided for by the teinds. Do they deserve no consideration? Were it proposed to hand over the teinds to the several parishes to do with them what may seem best for their higher education and wants, the proposal at least might not assume the guise of robbery; but to transfer them, as has been proposed, to a Central Board, to be managed by a list of officials for general educational purposes or to save school fees and rates—this would be at once robbery and waste. My own opinion is that the teinds cannot be better applied than they are, in providing for the religious education of the people of our several parishes. Not only so, I believe they can only be legally and rightfully applied for such a purpose. The teinds of each parish belong to that parish; they belong to it for the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. No doubt they may, as any property may, be seized by legislative act, and otherwise applied; but on no principle of law or justice can this be done.

The supposed principle of religious equality disappears in the light of this analysis. No equality can be violated where

no rights are invaded. If I am entitled equally with others to a share of something of which I am deprived, my rights are invaded, and I am placed on an unequal footing with others of which I have reason to complain. If I am offered my share and decline to have it, I suffer no injustice. That I should not only decline my own share, but insist that others on my account shall have no share, is surely the height of absurdity and injustice.

These arguments appear to me to have irresistible weight in present circumstances as applied to the Church question in Scotland. I do not pretend that circumstances might not arise in which they would be no longer applicable. Great practical questions can never be settled by a mere play of logic. Suppose the people of Scotland to fall away from the Church generally, and the teinds no longer to be usefully applicable to their present purpose, then *cadit questio*; the difficulty would solve itself; or, suppose that there was a general demand in Scotland, as at the Revolution, for a reapplication of the teinds on some more general ecclesiastical platform, a case for interference would be made out. This latter result *may* come. It will certainly never come from premature interference. If there have been injuries done in the past to those who are now dissenters from the National Church, these injuries can never be redeemed by a new class of injuries. You cannot destroy with the one hand and build with the other. You cannot avenge history by writing it anew in pages of violence and injustice.

On every ground, therefore, but above all, in the interests of that Liberalism which is so constantly evoked on behalf of immediate action, it is plain that the Church question is not one pressing for settlement. So long as the people of Scotland refuse to give emphatic voice on the subject, it is impossible to make Disestablishment a part of the Liberal programme *consistently with Liberal principles*. 'Liberalism is built on popular conviction.' So far as can be gathered, the *people of Scotland, by a large majority, are on the side of the Church*, and not against it. They do not want it to be superseded or swept away. They are

content with it, as yet at least. This is the opinion—as shown so abundantly by the petitions lately forwarded to Parliament—not only of the members of the Church itself, but of thousands who are members of other Churches, conscientiously and zealously so, but who are capable of recognising a national good, although they do not themselves directly share in it. And on every principle of Liberalism this is an important consideration. For it never can be too much enforced that Liberalism does not consist, as many now seem to suppose, in every thing which may be put forward in its name, but in a due regard to the opinions and interests of all,—in a fair adjustment of the rights of all. To make of every cry of an advanced wing, a Liberal principle, would be to merge all principle in mere noise.

If Liberationism be a true outcome of Liberalism, time will show. I have already expressed my opinion that it is not so, that it is not an indigenous growth of the true soil. There are those who disagree with me, and they are entitled to their opinion, but they are not entitled to enforce it upon thousands who disagree with them. The training of many who now cry most loudly for Disestablishment was not in a Liberal school. They may have learned a true lesson, but they have learned it in suspicious circumstances. It would be well for them to con it a little longer, and see if it really bears the meaning they give to it. The constituencies have evidently not made up their minds to part with the old Church as yet; and candidates had better take time to consider the subject more intelligently and thoroughly than some of them have done.

If anything were needed to confirm the general view of this paper, a document which has only seen the light since it was in type amply does this. A proposed address to Mr. Gladstone on the subject of Disestablishment, signed among others by Principal Rainy and Principal Cairns, has been for some time in private circulation, in which Disestablishment is declared to be 'this long-ripe question.' But whoever heard of a 'ripe' public question requiring to be forced by private urgency upon Statesmen in a time like ours. The other 'strong' statements in the document call for no comment. The idea that the exis-

tence of the Church of Scotland is the main obstacle to religious peace in Scotland is simply the latest form of delusive commonplace set afloat on the subject, and by those who are chiefly responsible for the religious divisions of which they now complain.

JOHN TULLOCH.

ART. II.—YORK MYSTERY PLAYS.

York Plays. The Plays performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries. Edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. Clarendon Press, 1885.

THE publication of this handsome and admirably printed volume, containing one of the oldest, and the most complete, series of Mystery Plays in the English language, deserves to be regarded as one of the most important literary events of the year. The existence of these valuable remains of our old Playwrights' art has been known to scholars since the publication of Thoresby's *History of Leeds*, but though several recent writers on dramatic literature have referred to them, until the attention of Miss Toulmin Smith was accidentally directed to them by one of the publications of the Old French Text Society, no one seems to have entertained the idea of lifting them out of their obscurity and giving them to the public. It is fortunate, perhaps, that this has been so. Certainly the task of editing them could not have fallen into more competent hands. Miss Toulmin Smith has brought to her work large knowledge and unwearied patience, and has discharged the duties of Editor with an accuracy, fulness, and skill deserving the highest praise. The ample Introduction she has prefixed to the Plays with its several Appendices, contains an abundance of recondite and interesting information and many details which were either overlooked or not mentioned by Davies in his valuable Appendix and Extracts.

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- I. ANTHROPOMORPHISMS—are frequently used of GOD, not that He really has them, but because such effects proceed from Him as are like those that flow from similar things in MAN.
2. PERSONIFICATION—of Immaterial and Inanimate things is common.
3. CONFLICTING STATEMENTS—are to be carefully and candidly examined.
4. GENERAL STATEMENTS—are limited by Parallel Passages and Context.
5. POSITIVE STATEMENTS—are frequently to be taken Comparatively.
6. GENERAL REASONINGS—of various kinds, are frequently employed.
7. THE MESSENGER'S LANGUAGE—often glides into that of the SENDER.
8. THE SERVANT'S WORDS—are frequently ascribed to the MASTER.
9. POPULAR NOTIONS—are frequently left uncorrected.
10. IRONICAL LANGUAGE—is frequently employed.
11. TRANSPOSITION OF CLAUSES—is frequently necessary.
12. HEBRAISMS, SYCLACISMS, LATINISMS, &c.—are also found.
13. DIFFERENT NAMES—are given to the same person or place.
14. DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF WORDS—are found in the same verse.
15. QUOTATIONS FROM OLD TESTAMENT—are free, and often without References.

16. PARENTHEITICAL REMARKS—are frequent, and to be observed.
17. CERTAINTY OR INTENSITY—is expressed in a variety of ways.
18. REPETITIONS—are used to express GREATNESS or INTENSITY.
19. PLEONASMS AND REDUNDANCES—are frequently to be found.
20. THE NEGATION OF THE ACT—implies INABILITY to do it.
21. REFERENCES—are sometimes made to Non-Canonical Books.
22. PROMISES AND THREATENINGS—are generally Conditional.
23. DISTRIBUTION—is expressed in a variety of ways.
24. EMPHASIS—is expressed in a variety of ways.
25. VARIOUS READINGS—are to be duly studied and weighed.
26. INTERPOLATIONS—are never to be adduced as proof-texts.
27. THE ORDER OF EVENTS—is frequently disregarded.
28. ROUND AND COMMON NUMBERS—are frequently used.
29. A PART OF A THING—is frequently put for the WHOLE of it.
30. THE WHOLE OF A THING—is frequently put for a PART of it.
31. A DEFINITE NUMBER—is put for an INDEFINITE one.
32. ELLIPSIS—of Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns, Verbs, &c., is common.
33. SUPPLEMENTS FROM PARALLEL PASSAGES—are necessary.
34. UNUSUAL WORDS—are to be carefully attended to.
35. PUNCTUATION—is to be carefully attended to.
36. DEFINITE ARTICLE—is sometimes used injuriously IMPORTED or OMITTED.
37. NOUN.—1) Nouns sometimes used for Adjectives, Pronouns, or Adverbs.

TO BIBLE INTERPRETATION.

40. PRONOUN.—1) Often expressed by a Noun, Definite Article, or Conjunction.
- 2) It sometimes refers to an object *not yet* mentioned, nor at all.
- 3) The Antecedent is sometimes used for the Relative.
- 4) The Antecedent may occur both before and after the Relative.
- 5) Antecedent and Relative may be of different Genders and Numbers.
- 6) It often belongs to first noun, though placed after second in Hebrew.
- 7) The Singular is sometimes used for the Plural.
- 8) The Plural is sometimes used for the Singular.
- 9) It sometimes agrees with a subsequent Noun.
41. VERBS.—1) Sometimes *one* meaning only expressed, and another implied.
- 2) Sometimes only the *beginning* of the action is meant.
- 3) Sometimes only the *continuance* of the action is meant.
- 4) Sometimes only the *power* to do it is meant.
- 5) Sometimes only the *duty* or *privilege* to do it.
- 6) Sometimes only the *wish* or *intention* to do it.
- 7) Sometimes only the *design* or *tendency* to do it.
- 8) Sometimes only an *endeavour* or *trial* to do it.
- 9) Sometimes only the *custom* or *usage* of doing it.
- 10) Sometimes only the *occasion* or *opportunity* of doing it.
- 11) Sometimes only the *permission* to do it.
- 12) Sometimes only the *declaring* or *announcing* of it.
- 13) Sometimes only the *supposition* or *imputation* of it.
- 14) Certain Verbs appear to be redundant.
- 15) Certain Verbs indicate the quality, adjunct, or circumstance.
- 16) Actions are ascribed to one who *procures*, *consents*, or *approves*.
- 17) Verbs of *Affirming* and *Denying* sometimes imply the Reverse.
- 18) Verbs of *Calling*, *showing*, *making known*, &c., are used of *actual being*.
- 19) Verbs of *Ability*, *can* and *could*, are used of convenience, fitness duty; *cannot*, *could not*, of what is *not* convenient, dutiful, or right.
- 20) *Active* and *Intransitive* Verbs are sometimes also *Causative*.
- 21) *Active* Verbs are sometimes used for *Passive*.
- 22) *Passive* Verbs are sometimes used for *Active*.
- 23) The *Nominative* to the Verb—is frequently omitted.
- 24) The *Infinitive*—is sometimes used for other Moods and Tenses.
- 25) The *Imperative*—is sometimes expressed by the use of a Noun.
- 26) The *Imperative*—sometimes expressed by other Moods and Tenses.
- 27) *Plural* Verbs—are sometimes used for the Singular.
- 28) *Singular* Verbs—are sometimes used for the Plural.
- 29) The *Present Tense*—is sometimes used for habitual action.
- 30) The *Present Tense*—is sometimes used for the (certain) Future.
- 31) The *Present Tense*—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
- 32) The *Past Tense*—is sometimes used for the (certain) Future.
- 33) The *Past Tense*—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
- 34) The *Past Tense*—is sometimes used for the Imperative.

29. A PART OF A THING—is frequently put for the WHOLE of it.
30. THE WHOLE OF A THING—is frequently put for a PART of it.
31. A DEFINITE NUMBER—is put for an INDEFINITE one.
32. ELLIPSIS—of Nouns, Adjectives, Pronouns, Verbs, &c., is common.
33. SUPPLEMENTARY PASSAGES—smaller PASSAGES—are necessary.
34. SUPPLEMENTARY PASSAGES—are to be carefully attended to.
35. PUNCTUATION—is to be frequently attended to.
36. DEFINITE ARTICLE—is sometimes injuriously IMPORTED or OMITTED.
37. NOUN.—1) Nouns sometimes expressed by Adjectives, Pronouns, or Adverbs.
- 2) Nouns are sometimes expressed by Neuter Adjectives.
- 3) Nouns are sometimes placed in apposition.
- 4) Some Nouns, in the construct, require an Inversion.
- 5) The Construct state is sometimes used for the thing itself.
- 6) The Nominative is sometimes used for the Vocative.
- 7) The Nominative is sometimes used absolutely.
- 8) The Genitive expresses a variety of meanings.
- 9) The Dative is sometimes used absolutely.
- 10) The Accusative is sometimes used absolutely.
- 11) The Accusative is sometimes used for the Nominative.
- 12) Plural Abstract Nouns express their Manifestation.
- 13) The Singular is sometimes used for the Plural.
- 14) The Plural is sometimes used for the Singular.
- 15) The Dual does not always express Duality.
- 16) The Neuter is sometimes used for the Masculine or Feminine.
- 17) Different Genders and Numbers express Variety.
- 18) The Abstract is sometimes used for the Concrete.
- 19) The Actor is sometimes used for the Action.
- 20) The Cause or Medium is used for the Effect.
- 21) The Effect is used for the Cause.
- 22) The Subject is used for the Adjunct.
- 23) The Place is used for the Contents.
- 24) The Contents are used for the Place.
- 25) The Person is used for his Property.
- 26) The Thing signified is used for the Sign.
- 27) The Sign is used for the Thing signified.
- 28) The action or affection is used for the object itself.
- 29) Time (or its parts) is used for what happens therein.
- 30) Name is frequently used for the thing itself.
- 31) Are often expressed by a Noun, Verb, or Adverb.
- 32) The Neuter is sometimes used for the Masculine.
- 33) The Cardinals are sometimes used for the Ordinals.
- 34) They sometimes agree only with the nearest Noun.
- 35) The Positive sometimes occurs for the Comparative.
- 36) The Positive sometimes occurs for the Superlative.
- 37) The Comparative sometimes occurs for the Superlative.
- 38) The Comparative is sometimes expressed by *than*, &c.
- 39) The Superlative is expressed in a variety of ways.
- 40) The Superlative sometimes occurs for the Comparative.
- 41) The Singular is sometimes used for the Plural.
- 42) The Plural is sometimes used for the Singular.

- 25) The Imperative—is sometimes expressed by other Moods and Tenses.
- 26) The Imperative Verbs—are sometimes used for the Singular.
- 27) Singular Verbs—are sometimes used for the Plural.
- 28) The Present Tense—is sometimes used for habitual action.
- 29) The Present Tense—is sometimes used for the (certain) Future.
- 30) The Present Tense—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
- 31) The Past Tense—is sometimes used for the (certain) Future.
- 32) The Past Tense—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
- 33) The Future Tense—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
- 34) The Future Tense—is sometimes used for the Imperative.
42. ADVERBS.—1) Sometimes expressed by Noun, Adjective, Pronoun or Verb.
- 2) Two negatives sometimes *deny*, and sometimes *affirm*.
43. CONJUNCTIONS.—1) The last in a series may be rendered *thus*.
- 2) Conditional ones are often used interrogatively and negatively; also for *since* or *seeing*; *when* or *while*.
- 3) *And*, is often used for *even*, *also*, *especially*; *who*, *which*, *what*.
- 4) *Because*, *for*, is often used for *although*.
- 5) *That*, marks a *result*, as well as an *intent*.

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- Abated**, *should be fled*, in De. 34. 7; cut off, in Lev. 27. 18; lacking, in Ge. 8. 3; lightened, in Ge. 8. 8, 11; weakened, in Jud. 8. 3.
- Abide**, *should be go into*, in Nu. 31. 23; sojourn, in Ps. 15. 1; 61. 4; encamp, in Nu. 9. 20, 22; 31. 19; Ezra 8. 15; lodge or pass the night, in Job 39. 9, 28; Ps. 49. 12; 91. 1; Pro. 15. 31; 19. 23; stand still, in Josh. 18. 5; Ps. 119. 90; Ecc. 1. 4; rise up, in Nah. 1. 6; tabernacled, in Ex. 24. 16; 40. 35; Nu. 9. 17, 18; 24. 2; Jud. 5. 17; Pro. 7. 11; was, in Nu. 9. 21; 11. 35; turn up and down, in Mt. 17. 22; remain in a court-yard, in Lu. 21. 37; rub through or away, in Ac. 12. 19; 14. 3, 28; 16. 12; 20. 6; remain on, in Ac. 15. 34; Ga. 1. 18; stood, in Jo. 8. 44; remain steadily, in Ac. 1. 13; remain, in Mt. 10. 11; Mr. 6. 10; Lu. 1. 56; 8. 27; 9. 4; 19. 5; 24. 29; Jo. 1. 32, 39; 3. 36, &c.; remain alongside of, 1 Cor. 16. 6; made or wrought, in Ac. 20. 3; remain behind, in Ac. 17. 14; able to bear, in Jer. 10. 10; stand still, in 2 Co. 30. 10; can bear, in Joel 2. 11; cleave, in Ruth 2. 8; remain on, in Rom. 11. 23; Phil. 1. 24; be joined to, in Ec. 8. 15.
- Abiding**, or expectation, in 1 Ch. 29. 15; joining self to, in 1 Sa. 26. 19.
- Ability**, *should be power*, in Ezra 2. 69; De. 1. 4; Mt. 25. 15; attaining, in Le. 27. 8; sufficiency in Ne. 5. 8; going on well, in Ac. 11. 29; strength, in 1 Pe. 4. 11.
- Able**, *should be have power*, in 1 Ch. 29. 14; 2 Ch. 2. 6; Ezra. 10. 13; sufficient, in 2 Ti. 2. 2; have full power, in Eph. 3. 18; have strength, in Lu. 13. 24; 14. 29, 30; John 21. 6; Ac. 6. 10; 15. 10; sufficient (to be), in 2 Co. 3. 6.
- Abolish**, *should be change*, in Isa. 2. 18; made thoroughly inactive, in 2 Co. 3. 13; Eph. 2. 15; 2 Ti. 1. 10; broken down, in Isa. 51. 6; blotted out, in Eze. 6. 6.
- Abominable**, *should be unlawful*, in Tit. 1. 16; detestable, in Lev. 7. 21; 2 Ch. 15. 8; Eze. 8. 10; Nah. 3. 6.
- Abomination**, *should be detestation* in Le. 11. 10, 11, 12, 13, 20, 23, 41, 42; De. 29. 17; 1 K. 11. 5; 7. 7; 2 K. 23. 13, 24; Isa. 66. 3; Jer. 4. 1, &c.
- Abound**, *should be multiplied*, in Mt. 24. 12; over-abound, in Ro. 5. 20; heavy, in Prov. 8. 24.
- About**, *should be in behalf of*, in Job 1. 1; Ps. 139. 11; over against, in Neh. 13. 21; on, in Da. 5. 7; 16. 29; in, in Lu. 2. 49; upon, in Mt. 18. 6; Mr. 14. 51; John 20. 7; Ac. 11. 19; around, in Mt. 3. 4, &c.; toward, in Mr. 2. 2; &c. 1. 13.
- About**, *should be somewhere about*, in Ro. 4. 19; as it were, in Mr. 5. 13, &c.; as if it were, in Mt. 14. 21, &c.; seeking, in Ac. 27. 30; on the point of, in Ac. 3. 3; 18. 14; 20. 3; He. 8. 5; Rev. 10. 4.
- Above**, *should be out from*, in Le. 9. 10; more than, in Ac. 4. 22; higher up, in He. 10. 8; over, in Lu. 3. 20; Eph. 4. 6; 6. 16; Col. 3. 14; 2 Th. 2. 4; beyond, in Lu. 13. 2, 4; Ro. 14. 5; Heb. 1. 9; before, in 2 Co. 12. 2; Jas. 5. 12; 1 Pe. 4. 8.
- Above (far)**, *should be a high place*, in 2 Sa. 22. 17; Ps. 10. 5; 18. 16; 144. 7; La. 1. 13.
- Abroad**, *should be without*, in Ge. 15. 5; 19. 17; Ex. 12. 48; 21. 19; Le. 14. 8, &c.; manifest, in Mt. 4. 22; Lu. 8. 17; Mr. 6. 14.
- Absent**, *should be hidden*, in Ge. 31. 49; away from one's people, in 2 Co. 5. 6, 8, 9.
- Abstain**, *should be hold off from*, in Ac. 15. 20, 29; 1 Th. 4. 3; 5. 22; 1 Ti. 4. 3; 1 Pe. 2. 11.
- Abstinence**, *should be want of food*, in Ac. 27. 21.
- Abundance**, *should be brightness*, in Isa. 66. 11; remnant, in Isa. 15. 7; substance, in Isa. 47. 9; residue, in Jer. 33. 6; satiety, in Ec. 5. 12; rest, in Ex. 16. 49; without number, in 1 Ch. 22. 4; power, in Re. 18. 5; over-abundance, in 2 Co. 12. 7; much, in Est. 2. 7; 1 Pe. 1. 3.
- Abundantly**, *should be richly*, in Tit. 3. 6; 2 Pe. 1. 11.
- Abused**, *should be rolled self upon*, in Jud. 19. 25; 1 Sa. 31. 4; 1 Ch. 10. 4.
- Accept**, *should be reduce to ashes*, in Ps. 20. 3; smell, in 1 Sa. 26. 19; be pleased with, in Le. 26. 41, 43; De. 33. 11; 2 Sa. 24. 23; Ps. 119. 108; Ec. 9. 7; Jer. 14. 10, 12; Eze. 20. 40, 41; 43. 27; Hos. 8. 13; Am. 5. 22; Mal. 1. 10, 13.
- Acceptable**, *should be choice*, in Pro. 21. 3; delightful, in Ec. 12. 10.

Any ordinary Christian man or woman can, by this means, be as certain of the true meaning of Scripture words as nine-tenths of professional students.

The Notes scattered throughout the volume are apposite and informing; and the Glossaries, of which there are two, one for the Introduction, and the other for the Plays, are full and accurate, though we cannot help regretting the decision to leave out all reference to the etymology of the words. Now that we have Mr. Skeat's excellent Etymological Dictionary this decision, however, is the less to be regretted; still, we hope that the time is not distant when no Glossary to a work of this kind will be regarded as complete or sufficient which does not, in addition to defining the words it registers, give an account of their history or derivation.

The manuscript volume from which the Plays are printed, though it can lay no claim to being the original MS. of them, is the book in which the plays performed by the crafts in the City of York, under the sanction and with the authority of the Corporation, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, were copied or 'registered' by the City officials. Its history is somewhat curious, and in part unknown. The official copy of the Plays, it must originally have been the property of the municipal authorities. Down to the year 1580 it was claimed by them, though in 1554, instead of being preserved among the other official documents of the City, it seems to have been handed over to the keeping of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate, at the gates of which was the first station in the circle of the performances as far back as 1399. After 1580 all further notices of the volume, and even of the plays it contains, disappear from the City records. What became of it during the interval between 1580 and 1695 is unknown. A note on one of its fly leaves, bearing the last mentioned date, shows that it was then the property of Henry Fairfax, a member of the Denton branch of the Fairfax family; but what had become of it during the interval, or how it came into the possession of the Fairfaxes can only be conjectured. With respect to the latter point Miss Toulmin Smith suggests two possible ways. One is that it had been rescued from destruction as a curious relic by one of the Denton family in authority during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. The other is that it was one of the MSS. saved by General Lord Fairfax at the blowing up of St. Mary's Tower,

York, in 1644, and that having been presented by him to his uncle Henry Fairfax, the rector of Bolton Percy, it had descended to the latter's grandson, the Henry Fairfax, whose name appears as its owner in 1695, by inheritance. Of the two, the former seems to us the more likely to be true. During the sixteenth century, among the members of the Council of the North for the reform of religious matters were several members of the Fairfax family. In the spring of 1579 it was resolved by the authorities of the City of York that the Corpus Christi Plays should be performed that year according to ancient wont, but 'first that the booke' [containing the Plays] 'shalbe carried to my Lord Archebisshop' [Dr. Sandys], 'and Mr. Deane to correct, if that my Lord Archebisshop doo well like thereon.' That the book was carried to 'my Lord Archebisshop' may be taken as certain; but that he returned it does not appear. It is possible, and in fact far from improbable, that having got the 'booke' into his possession, the Archbishop, in the exercise of his discretion, carried it before the Council of the North, and that from being in the possession of the Council it fell into the hands of some member of the Fairfax family, among whom there was no lack of scholarly tastes and love for books. In 1599 Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton was a member of the Council; and the fact that the volume appears in the possession of one of his descendants a hundred years later seems to point to him as the one to whom we are indebted for its preservation. From 1695 the history of the volume is clear. Henry Fairfax presented it to Thoresby. At the sale of the latter's collection Horace Walpole bought it for a guinea, though it was described in the catalogue as 'a folio volume written upon vellum of Old English Poetry, very curious.' Its next owner was Thomas Rodd, the bookseller, who purchased it at Walpole's sale for £220 10s. In 1842 it was sold to Mr. Heywood Bright of Bristol for £235. Two years later it was bought by Mr. Thorpe for £305 for the Rev. Thomas Russell, and afterwards passed by purchase into the hands of the late Lord Ashburnham, to the liberality of whose representative its publication is now due.

In a very interesting section of the Introduction, Miss Smith has given a minute and elaborate description of the volume. It

consists, it would appear, 'of 270 leaves of parchment or vellum, of which 48 are blank, bound in the original wooden binding, once covered with leather, which is now much torn and in rather bad condition.' As usual with old and carelessly preserved parchment volumes, mice have nibbled away portions of the outside leaves, but otherwise, except that in five of the quires a pair of leaves have been torn away, the sheets seem to have sustained no damage save those which old age inevitably brings. On the inside of one of the covers and on one of the leaves are scribbled the names of several unknown persons. Scattered throughout the volume there are frequent erasures consequent on alterations in the arrangement of the crafts; and on folios 42, 69, 86, the following notes occur in a sixteenth century hand: 'Doctor, this matter is newlye mayde whereof we haue no copy;' 'This matter is mayd of newe after anoyer forme;' 'This matter is newly mayd and devysed, whereof we haue no copy regystred;' telling of the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities of the time and of the desire of the citizens and their representatives to propitiate them. As compared with those of the Chester and Coventry collections, the stage directions are less frequent and descriptive. Here and there is a note indicating that a new speech is wanting, and in three instances the words are glossed to the modern usage. But to these matters we shall have occasion to recur further on.

The author of the Plays is not known. Nor is it known whether they had one or several authors. On either point there is an entire absence of information or evidence. The Plays themselves afford not the slightest clue to their authorship. In style and versification they are extremely varied, more especially in respect of the latter, there being employed in the forty-eight plays, according to the analysis made by Miss Toulmin Smith, no fewer than twenty-two different forms of stanza, several of which are of a very complicated kind. The language is that of the Northern Dialect, but unfortunately the Midland copyist, for some reason or other, but on no fixed principle, has introduced a very large number of alterations both in the orthography and in the grammatical forms. In the copies used by the players and preserved by the gilds or crafts, these alterations would be absent. It is to be hoped that,

if any of these copies are still in existence, they will by and by be brought to light.

In the opinion of their Editor, the Plays had but one author, who, she conjectures, was in all probability a member of one of the religious houses of the North in the Yorkshire district. Both these surmises may be correct, but both of them are open to dispute. The latter is based upon the knowledge of the Scriptures, and especially upon the careful concordance of the narrative from the gospels shown in the Plays. These characteristics are unquestionably present. It must be admitted also that much, and indeed most, of the literature of the time had its origin in the Church. But the existence in Yorkshire about the same time as the Plays were probably written, of an author like Hampole, who was neither a priest nor a member of a religious house or fraternity, suggests the possibility of their author being a layman. We have no intention of attributing them to Hampole, but when we call to mind his familiarity with the Scriptures and the intellectual condition of the time, we hesitate to admit that there is any great, or well grounded, necessity for supposing that all the anonymous literature of the period originated among the clergy or religious orders.

The date of the composition of the Plays admits of being more closely determined, though here also precision is impossible. Miss Toulmin Smith is of opinion that it may safely be set as far back as 1350 or 1340, not long after the appearance of the *Cursor*. This opinion seems to us to be abundantly justified. The MS. volume from which the Plays are printed does not go back earlier than between 1430 and 1450; but in one of the oldest records of the City of York there is a detailed list of the plays and crafts who were assigned to play them, entered by the hand of Roger Burton, the town-clerk, and dated A.D. 1415, which in its enumeration of the plays and crafts agrees very closely with the Ashburnham MS. In a still older record they are spoken of as matters of antiquity. According to Davies (p. 230) 'in the year 1394 an order was made by the mayor, bailifs, worshipful men, citizens, and commonalty assembled in the Guildhall, "that all pageants of Corpus Christi should play in the places *antiently* appointed, and not elsewhere, viz., as it was proclaimed by the

mayor and bailifs and their officers, and if any pageant did the contrary, the artificers of that pageant should pay a fine of *vj s. viij d.* to the use of the city." Six years earlier there is an entry respecting '100 shillings which Master Thomas de Bukton had given for furnishing four torches to be burnt in the procession on the feast of Corpus Christi.' But assuming that the pageants referred to in the entry of 1394 are those now printed, and there can be little doubt that they are, between 1340 and 1350 is by no means too early a date to which to assign their origin. Strongly corroborative evidence of this is furnished by the language which, where it has not been altered, closely resembles Hampole's, who died in 1349.

The Plays were performed on Corpus Christi day. This festival was founded by Pope Urban IV. in 1264, and firmly established by Pope Clement V. in 1311. At first, and in many places long after its foundation, the ceremonial of the festival, the office for which was drawn up by St. Thomas Aquinas, was merely processional, and as the people took part in the procession along with the clergy, the participating gilds soon came to regard Corpus Christi as their common festival, and to use it as an opportunity for outdoing each other in the magnificence of their display. While the clergy carried the pyx, lighted torches, and sacred banners, the crafts adorned the procession with pictures and images of saints and persons of Scripture. They also attired living representatives of the Virgin with her silver crown, the Angel Gabriel, the twelve Apostles, St. Catharine, St. Laurence, and other Scripture and legendary characters. According to the oldest volume belonging to the Burgh of Dundee, 'the grayth of the prosession of Corpus Christi' in that town 'deliverit Sir Thomas Barbour' somewhere between the years 1485 and 1496 was as follows:—*'Imprimis—*

xxijj of crownis.

vij Pair of angel veynis.

iiij Myteris.

Cristis cott of lethyr, with the hosse and gluffis.

Cristis hed.

xxxj Suerdis.

Thre lang corssis of tre.

Sane Thomas sper.

A cors til Sanc Blais.
 Sanc Johnnis cott.
 A credil, and thre barnis maid of clath.
 xx Hedis of hayr.
 The four evangelists.
 Sanc Katrinis quheil.
 Sanc Androwis cros.
 A saw, a ax, a rassour, a guly knyff.
 A worm of tre.
 The haly lam of tre.
 Sanc Barbill castel.
 Abraamis hat and thre hedis of hayr.*

Processions of this kind, however, were not peculiar to Corpus Christi day. They seem to have been held on other festivals or holidays. The following refers to a very popular procession held for many years in Aberdeen.

'Thir craftes vndirwritten sal fynd yerly in the offerand of our Lady at Candilmes thir personnes vndirwrittin; that is to say, The littistares sal fynd, the empriour and twa doctoures, and alsmony honeste squiares as thai may. The symthes and hammermen sal fynd, The three kings of Culane, and alsmony honeste squiares as thai may. The talzoures sal fynd, Our Lady Sancte Bride, Sancte Helone, Joseph, and alsmony squiares as thai may. The skynnares sal fynd, Twa bischopes, four angeles, and alsmony honeste squiares as thai may. The webstares and walkares sal fynd, Symen and his disciples, and alsmony honeste squiares, etc. The cordinares sal fynd, The messyngear and Moyses, and alsmony honeste squiares, etc. The fleschowares sal fynd, Twa or four wodmen, and alsmony honeste men, etc. The brethir of the gilde sal fynd, The knyghtes in harnace, and squiares honestely araiit, etc. The baxteris sal fynd, The menstralis, and alsmony honeste squiares as thai may.'†

Miss Smith seems to refer to this as a description of nine pageants of a Corpus Christi play ‡ but the words 'sal fynd yerly . . . thir personnes' and the number of persons required to be found together with the whole description suit much better a procession than a pageant or play. Plays or pageants do not seem to have been performed at Aberdeen at Candlemass until later on. The above extract occurs under the year 1442. The first mention of Corpus Christi plays at Aberdeen is in 1479.

* Maxwell's *History of Old Dundee*, p. 562.

† *Burgh Records* (Spalding Club), Vol. I., 9-10.

‡ P. lxx.

From the parade of persons dressed up in character to their employment in dramatic representations, the step, as Professor Morley has remarked, was easy,* but when or where it was first taken, or when the performance of Mystery Plays first formed part of the celebration of the Corpus Christi festival at York is unknown. Mystery Plays were originally performed in the church as an adjunct to the liturgy, of which they seem to have been a sort of natural development,† and may be traced back as far as the fifth century. In his treatise on the liturgy of the Norman Church, John of Bayeux, bishop of Avranches, who wrote in the tenth century, regards them as a component part of the liturgy. In 1210 Pope Innocent III. ordered them to be performed outside as well as within the church. They began also to be performed in the vulgar instead of the Latin tongue. But at what time they were taken up and performed by the gilds is uncertain. According to Brunne's *Handlyng of Sinne*, by the middle of the thirteenth century, it had come to be accounted a sin for the clergy to assist at any other plays than those which belonged to the liturgy and were acted in the church at Easter and Christmas. To assist in any plays performed elsewhere than in the church, they were strictly forbidden. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that the command of Innocent in 1210, ordering the Mysteries to be acted without as well as in the churches, simply sanctioned a custom already existing, and that previous to its issue the gilds had already turned their organisations to account in the production, on their saints' days, and on great religious holidays, of pageants of their own. As to the other point referred to—the adoption of pageants or mystery plays into the ceremonial of Corpus Christi day at York, there can be little doubt, if the date assigned by Miss Smith for the composition of the Plays be correct, that the practice began very soon after the festival had received new life by its confirmation at the hands of Pope Clement V. in 1311.

The number of crafts producing the plays as well as the num-

* *English Writers*, Vol. II., 348.

† Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature*, Vol. I., 18. Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Vol. IX., 174.

ber of plays produced at York varied from time to time. In Burton's list of 1415, we have fifty-one plays assigned to over eighty crafts. In a second list the plays number fifty-seven, and the crafts playing them fifty-nine. In the MS. from which the Plays are now printed the plays number forty-eight, and are represented as performed by fifty-nine crafts. If to these we add the fragment of 'the Coronation of our Lady' which is assigned to the Innholders, we have forty-nine pageants and sixty crafts performing them. Two plays, however, have unfortunately been omitted, though space was originally left in the Register for their insertion. These were the 'Marriage at Cana' performed by the Vintners, and 'Jesus eating with Simon the leper, and Mary Magdalene,' played by the Ironmongers. When it is understood that the cost of each pageant was borne by the craft or crafts performing it, the cause of the variations referred to, is easily accounted for. 'As business grew,' Miss Smith observes, 'a new craft would spring up, an old one decay and become too poor to produce its play, a new one must take its share; one craft trenching on the trade of another must share its burdens, sometimes two, or even three plays would be combined into one, sometimes a play would be laid aside and the craft to which it had been assigned must join in producing some other.' (P. xix.) Thus the 'Portatio corporis Mariæ,' commonly called 'Fergus,' of which there is no trace in the Register, is in Burton's second list assigned to the Masons, but in 1476, when the Linen Weavers separated from the Tapiters and became a distinct company, they were discharged from contributing to the Tapiters' pageant, for the reason that they had undertaken of 'thaire fre mocion and will' to produce yearly, at their own cost, on Corpus Christi day, 'a pageant and play called Fergus.' This arrangement lasted for only about eight years, for in 1485 'it was determyned that the Tapiters, Cardemakers and Lynwevers of thir Citie be togeder annexid to the bringing furth of the padgeantes of the Tapiter craft and Cardmaker. Soo that the padgeant called Fergus late broght furth by the lynwevers be laid apart.' There is evidence that these and similar changes were due not to any unwillingness on the part of the crafts to perform the plays, but simply to their inability to meet the expense which the production

of a pageant necessarily involved. With the crafts and populace, as we shall see further on, the plays were extremely popular; and next to London, York seems to have been the most famous place in England for its sports and pastimes. So at least we learn from an anonymous ballad of the sixteenth century, the opening lines of which, though not far removed from doggerel, are in this connection not without interest:—

‘As I came thorow the North countrey
The fashions of the world to see,
I sought for mery companie,
To goe to the Cittie of London;
And when to the Cittie of Yorke I came,
I found good companie in the same,
As well-disposed to every game,
As if it had been at London.

Yorke, Yorke, for my monie,
Of all the citties that ever I see,
For mery pastime and companie,
Except the Cittie of London.’*

‘The distinctive characteristic of the English religious plays,’ Professor Ward has remarked, ‘is their combination into *collective series*, exhibiting the whole course of Bible history, from the Creation to the Day of Judgment.’† This is true of the York Plays as well as of the Chester, Coventry and Towneley Collections. They deal with, to use the words of Professor Morley, ‘the story of the Church, the mystery of its relation to humanity from the Creation to the life and death of Christ, the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment.’‡ Of the forty-eight plays printed by Miss Smith, eleven deal with Old Testament history. The remainder, with the exception of four, are founded on the evangelical narrative, and have for their subjects various incidents in the life of our Lord. The four exceptions are the ‘Descent of the Holy Spirit,’ ‘The Death of Mary,’ the ‘Appearance of our Lady to Thomas,’ and the ‘Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin;’ the subject of the first being taken from the Acts of the

* *Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. I., p. 1. Ed. 1873.

† *Hist. Dram. Lit.*, Vol. I., p. 32.

‡ *Engl. Writers*, Vol. II., p. 348.

Apostles, and those of the three others from the early Christian legendary literature.

The author of the Plays, whoever he was, and whether lay or cleric, was thoroughly well acquainted with the Scriptures and Apocryphal writings, and as a rule follows their text very closely. In the management of his subjects he exhibits considerable skill, and though several long speeches occur, the Plays are by no means wanting in dramatic effect. The first of the plays is 'Creation and the Fall of Lucifer,' the first scene of which is laid in heaven, where God appears, and in a speech of considerable dignity, announces his intention to create the world. A choir of angels appears singing the *Te Deum*. God then grants the earth to His faithful servants, and makes Lucifer chief of the powers below Him, 'als master and merour' of His might. The angelic choir sings the *Sanctus*, and the angels praise God, when the action of the Fall begins, Lucifer saying—

'All the myrth that es made es markide in me,
The bemes of my brighthode ar byrnande so brighte,
And I so semely in sighte my selfe now I se,
For lyke a lorde am I lefte to lend in this lighte,
More fayrear be far than my feres,
In me is no poynte that may payre,
I fele me fetys and fayre,
My powar es passande my peres.'

He is interrupted by an 'angelus cherabyn,' and again by an 'angelus seraphyn,' but continuing his boastfulness, suddenly falls exclaiming:—

'Owe ! what I am derworth and defte.—Owe ! dewes ! all goes downe !
My mighte and my mayne es all marrande,
Helpe ! felawes, in faythe I am fallande.'

The scene changes to hell, where the devils bewail their lot and quarrel.

Lucifer. Walaway ! wa ! es me now, nowe es it war thane it was.
Vnthryuandely threpe yhe, I sayde but a thoughte.

Secund. Diab. We ! lurdane, thu lost vs.

Lucifer. Yhe ly, owte ! allas !
I wyste noghte this wo sculde be wroghte,
Owte on yhow ! lurdans, yhe smore me in smoke.

Secund. Diab. This wo has thu wroghte vs.

Lucifer.

Yhe ly, yhe ly!

Secund. Diab. Thou lyes, and that sall thu by,
We lurdans haue at yowe, lat loke.'

The scene again changes to heaven, where the angels applaud the righteousness of God, and the work of creation is continued by the creation of light. After this, the Barkers' pageant, comes the pageant of the Playsterers, the subject of which is the first five days of Creation. The scene is laid on earth. The only person of the play is God, who delivers a speech extending to eighty-six stanzas. After the usual custom, this speech would be accompanied by the letting loose and sending among the spectators of a number of beasts to represent the creation of animals, and the sending up of a flight of pigeons to represent the creation of birds. The Cardmakers follow with the pageant of the creation of Adam and Eve, and the Deus announces the completion of creation in the lines:

' At heuene and erthe firste I be-ganne,
And vj daies wroughte or y wolde reste,
My werke is endid nowe at maune
Alle likes me wele, but this the beste.
My blissynge haue they euer and ay;
The seuynte day shal my restyng be,
Thus wille I sese, sothly to say,
Of my doying in this degree.
To blisse I schal you brynge,
Comes forthe ye two with me,
Ye shalle lyff in likyng,
My blissyng with you be. Amen.'

The Fullers play the pageant of the placing of Adam and Eve in Eden. Then comes the pageant of the Fall, which is assigned to the Cowpers. That of the expulsion from Eden is taken up by the Armourers, and is announced at the conclusion of the Cowpers' pageant by the command—

' Now Cherubyn, myn aungell bryght,
To middilerth tyte go dryve these twoo.'

Adam blames Eve, and the two quarrel. Adam complains, 'alle this worlde is wroth with mee.' The woman acknowledges their

fault, and bids Adam cease his complaints. The two then pass from the garden into the 'middle-earth.' Next we have the play of the Glovers—that of the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. A considerable part of this pageant is unfortunately missing. From what remains it seems to have been scarcely so stirring as that of the Woodkirk or Wakefield Collection. Cain, however, proves himself a thoroughly ill-conditioned fellow and a hopeless reprobate. His anger is stirred and fostered by his servant, Brew-barret. The angel who appears to him he invites to join him in his cups; strikes, and curses him. The part where he slays Abel is one of the passages wanting. The Building of the Ark pageant, which is the next, is taken up by the Shipwrights, and is followed by a version of what Chaucer alludes to as the

‘Sorwe of Noe with his felawship
Or that he mighte get his wif to schip,’

or the play of ‘Noah and his Wife, and the Flood and its Waning,’ which is here assigned to the ‘Fysshers and Marynars.’ It opens with Noah standing by the Ark in the forest, where he has been building it in secret for the last hundred years, grieving over the coming doom. His sons and daughters enter the Ark at his bidding, but his wife refuses. He sends out one of his sons in quest of her; an altercation ensues between the son and mother, when the latter, in a rage, seeks out Noah, enters the Ark and rates him soundly—

Vxor. ‘Wher arte thou Noe?

Noe. Loo! here at hande
Come hedir faste, dame, I the praye.

Vxor. Trowes thou that I wol leue the harde lande,
And tourne up here on toure deraye
Naye, Noye, I am nought boune
to fonde nowe ouer there ffellis,
Doo barnes, goo we trusse to towne.

Noe. Nay, certis, sothly than mon ye drowne.

Vxor. In faythe thou were als goode come downe
And go do som what ellis.

Noe. Dame fowrty dayes are nerhand past,
And gone sen it be-gan to rayne,
On lyffe salle noman lenger laste
Bot we allane, is nought to layne.

Vxor. Now Noye, in faythe the founes full faste
This fare will I no lenger frayne,
Thou arte nere woode, I am agaste,
Fare-wele, I wille go home agayne.'

Noah detains her and calls to his sons for help. She strikes him, but seeing that her friends 'are ouere flowen with floode,' she becomes quiet, and soon afterwards exclaims—

'Loved be that Lord that giffes all grace,
That kyndly thus oure care wolde kele.'

The windows and doors of the Ark are made fast. Noah cast the lead to find out 'howe depe the water is.' The raven is sent out, and afterwards the dove; the rainbow is seen in the heavens, and the play ends by the inmates of the Ark coming out of it and scattering themselves abroad.

The 'Sorowe of Noe' is followed by Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, a play of considerable beauty, full of pathos and tenderness, and when well performed must have had an exceedingly salutary effect upon the spectators. To be thoroughly appreciated it requires to be read as a whole. What may be called its key-note may be found in the following short prayer, uttered by Isaac immediately before he is acquainted by his father with the bitter news that he himself is to be the sacrifice:—

'Lorde God! of grete pouste,
To wham all pepull prayes,
Graunte bothe my fadir and me
To wirke thi wille all weyes.'

The perplexity, anguish and resolute courage of Abraham are brought out with great power. Equally touching is the submissiveness and filial piety of Isaac. The two take farewell of each other in the following words:—

Isaac. 'A! dere fadir, lyff is full swete,
The drede of dede dose all my dere.
As I am here youre sone,
To God I take me till,
Nowe am I laide here bone,
Do with me what ye will,
For fadir, I aske no more respete,
Bot here a worde what I wolde mene,

I beseke you or that ye smyte,
 Lay doune this kyrcheffe on myn eghne,
 Than may youre offerand be parfitte,
 If ye wille wirke thus as I wene.
 And here to god my saule I wite,
 And all my body to brenne bydene.
 Now fadir be noght myssyng,
 Bot smyte fast as ye may.

Abraham. Fare-wele, in goddis dere blissyng,
 And myn, for euer and ay.
 That pereles prince I praye
 Myn offerand here till haue it,
 My sacrifice this day,
 I praye the lorde ressayue it.'

The series of pageants from the Old Testament is closed by the Hosiers playing immediately after the one just referred to, 'The Departure of the Israelites from Egypt,' and is connected with that of the New Testament by the play of the 'Annunciation,' in which a number of prophecies from the Old Testament are used to foreshadow the pageants following. These are 'Joseph's Trouble about Mary,' 'The Journey to Bethlehem and the Birth of Jesus,' 'The Angels and the Shepherds,' 'The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod,' 'The Adoration of the Magi,' 'The Flight into Egypt,' and 'The Massacre of the Innocents.' 'The Purification of Mary' ought properly to stand between the 'Adoration' and the 'Flight into Egypt,' but in the Register it does not occur till towards the end, being numbered XLI instead of XVIII. With the exception of its first fifty-nine lines, 'The Coming of the Three Kings' is identical with 'The Coming and Adoration of the Three Kings,' and seems to have been played originally by the Masons. For its introductory scene, in the true boastful Herodic vein, a scene of praise by the Three Kings searching for the star on the way to Jerusalem, was afterwards substituted, a third scene in which the Kings make their oblation was added, and the play was handed over to the Goldsmiths. The 'Massacre of the Innocents,' is followed by 'Christ with the Doctors in the Temple;' then come the 'Baptism of Jesus,' and the 'Temptation.' From the latter we pass to the 'Transfiguration' played by the Curriers. The remainder are the

'Woman taken in Adultery, and the Raising of Lazarus,' which according to Burton's lists, forms two plays, 'The Entry into Jerusalem,' the 'Conspiracy,' 'Last Supper,' 'Agony and Betrayal,' 'Examination before Caiaphas,' 'Pilate's Wife's Dream and Jesus before Pilate,' the 'Trial before Herod.' The second accusation before Pilate, the remorse of Judas and the purchase of the Field of Blood, form the subjects of the next two plays, which are followed by 'Christ led up to Calvary,' the 'Crucifixion,' the 'Mortificacio Christi,' the 'Harrowing of Hell,' the 'Resurrection,' the 'Appearance on the way to Emmaus,' the 'Incredulity of Thomas,' the 'Ascension,' and the 'Descent of the Holy Spirit.' After these come the representations of the death of Mary, her appearance to Thomas, and her assumption and coronation, taken from the Apocryphal Gospels, etc., and finally we have the 'Judgment Day,' followed by the fragment of the 'Coronation of our Lady,' performed by the Innholders.

The New Testament pageants, it will be observed, cluster chiefly around the Nativity and Resurrection, the two great festivals of the Church, and the two principal events in the Evangelical narrative. The selection of topics for the intervening pageants is admirable, and serves to keep up the connection and to set forth the most salient points in the intervening period of the divine history. The Old Testament pageants are more numerous than those of any other Collection. Against the eleven of the York Plays, the Towneley Collection has eight; the Coventry, six; and the Chester, only five. The pageant connecting those of the Old with those of the New Testament is founded wholly on the Scriptures. 'In other compositions of the kind,' as Miss Smith observes, 'the prophecies of a sibyl or sibyls as to Jesus are introduced, as in the Towneley, Chester, and in the Italian play (*Libri*, 1264) a story of Octavian the Emperor is added or interwoven with them.' The representation of the Transfiguration occurs in no other Collection. Peculiar also to the York Plays is the introduction of Zacchæus in the pageant of the 'Entry into Jerusalem.' Five of the plays are parallel and in parts almost identical with five of the Towneley or Woodkirk Collection, viz.: the 'Israelites in Egypt,' 'Christ among the Doctors,' the 'Harrowing of Hell,' the 'Resurrection,' and

the 'Judgment Day.' In the Shepherds' play there is much less of the burlesque element than there is in either of those in the Towneley Collection. The play itself, like the majority of its companion plays, is short, extending only to a hundred and thirty-one lines. It opens with three shepherds recounting to each other the Old Testament prophecies respecting the birth of 'a prins with-outen pere,' that

' Shulde descende doune in a lady,
And to make mankynde clerly,
To leche tham that are lorne.'

As they are about to separate in quest of their 'fee' a company of Angels appears in the sky and fills them with amazement.

I. Pas. ' We ! huddle !

II. Pas. We ! howe !

I. Pas. Herkyn to me !

II. Pas. We ! man, thou maddes all out of myght.

I. Pas. We ! colle !

III. Pas. What care is comen to the ?

I. Pas. Steppe furth and stande by me right,
And tell me than

Yf thou sawe euere swilk a sight !

III. Pas. I ? nay, certis, nor neuere no man.

II. Pas. Say, felowes, what ! fynde yhe any feest,
Me falles for to haue parte, parde !

I. Pas. Whe ! huddle ! be-halda into the heste !
A selcouthe sight than sall thou see
vppon the skye !

II. Pas. We ! telle me men, emang vs thre,
Whatt garres yow stare thus sturdely ?

III. Pas. Als lange we haue herde-men bene,
And kepis this catell in this cloghe,
So selcouth a sight was neuer non sene.

I. Pas. We ! no colle ! nowe comes it newe i-now,
that mon we fynde.

Itt menes some meruayle vs emang
Full hardely I you behete.

* *I. Pas.* Whatt I shulde mene that wate not yee,

* There is obviously some confusion in the arrangement of the speeches here.

For all that ye can gape and gone : [*Angel sings.*
 I can synge it alls wele as hee,
 And on a-saie itt sall be sone
 proued or we passe.
 Yf ye will helpe, halde on ! late see,
 for thus it was.
Et tunc cantant.

II. Pas. Ha ! ha ! this was a mery note,
 Be the dede that I sall dye,
 I haue so crakid my throte,
 That my lippis are nere drye.

III. Pas. I trowe you royse,
 For what it was fayne witte walde I,
 That till vs made this noble noyse.'

Having learned the Angel's tidings the three shepherds set off for Bethlehem, making 'myrthe and melody with sange to seke oure Sayvour.' When they find Him they adore Him and present Him, one with 'A baren broche by a belle of tynne,' another 'with two cobill notis vppon a bande,' and the third with a 'horne spune.'

The author of the plays has proved himself a genuine artist. His seriousness and desire to make his scenes tell upon the spectators with religious effect are self-evident. Considering the period at which they were written, the amount of objectionable matter the Plays contain is singularly small; and an open-minded perusal of them will be enough, as Miss Smith well observes, 'to rebut the ignorant sneers that have been made (by Oliver, Warton, and others) against the earnestness or the capacity of the original dramatists of their order.' Attention has already been called to the tenderness and pathos of 'Abraham's Sacrifice.' The 'Flight in Egypt' and the 'Massacre of Innocents' also deserve to be noticed. In the former, and in the other plays in which they appear, Joseph and Mary are drawn with considerable dignity and simplicity. In the latter, the outraged affection of the mothers whose children are slain before their eyes, the bitterness of their grief, and their readiness to die for their children are brought out with striking effect by a few simple words. On the other hand, the scene of the Crucifixion is drawn with a strong coarse hand and with a realism which to modern

taste is, to say the least, offensive. In the scenes in which Herod, Satan, and similar characters appear there is an abundance of pomposity and bluster. On the other hand, the long speeches put into the mouths of Noah, Abraham, Deus, and Jesus are grave and dignified. The religious purpose of the plays is constantly kept in mind, and opportunity is taken to inculcate the virtue of baptism, the duty of forgiveness, of serving God in word and deed, of paying tithes, etc. The conduct of Judas is held up to scorn. Few scenes are more effective than the one in which the janitor at the gate of Pilate's hall treats him with the utmost contempt, and refuses to let him in, saying—

‘Go hense, thou glorand gedlyng!
 God geue the ille grace,
 Thy glyfftyng is so grimly
 Thou gars my harte growe.’

Here and there, however, we come across an anachronism. Herod swears by Mahomet; Abraham talks of ‘cristen men’; in His discussion with the Doctors Jesus speaks of His having already received the Holy Ghost, and uses sayings which are not reported of Him till a later period. In this same play, too, Joseph describes the Doctors as ‘gay in furies fyne.’ But in this connection we cannot do better than quote the following paragraph from Miss Toulmin Smith's Introduction:

‘Touches of current life and usage here and there stand out amid the ancient story: the carpenters' tools and measurement used by Noah, as well as those employed at the Crucifixion; the bitter cold weather at the Nativity, telling of a truly northern Christmas; the quaint offerings of the shepherds; the ruin of the poor by murrain in the account of the Ten Plagues; the drinking between Pilate and his wife; the sleeping of Herod; and the excellent representation of a heavy manual job by a set of rough workmen in the Crucifixion (pp. 354-6). Illustrative, too, of English custom and forms of justice, are the borrowing of the town beast (p. 203); Judas offering himself as bondman in remorse (p. 314); the mortgage of a property (raising money by wed-set, p. 318); and the trial scenes in Plays XXIX., XXX., XXXII., and XXXIII., in which Pilate “in Parlament playne” (p. 308) vindicates the course of law, and puts down the eager malice of the accuser Caiaphas and the sharp pursuer Annas. Even Herod makes proclamation for the accusers to appear, and sympathises with the oppressed,

" Sen that he is dome [dumb], for to deme hym,
Ware this a goode lawe for a lorde ? " (P. 305.)

Note, too, the sturdy common morality that will not tell a lie (p. 414) and that scorns a traitor's baseness (pp. 230, 231).' (P. lvii.)

The Plays were performed in the open air at certain stations in the streets throughout the City. In the year 1399, in consequence of a complaint that they were exhibited in too many places to the great loss and annoyance of the citizens and of the strangers repairing to the City to witness them, the Council ordained that in future they should be played only at the twelve following places :—

1. At the gates of the priory of the Holy Trinity in Mickelgate.
2. At the door of Robert Harpham.
3. At the door of John de Gyseburn.
4. At Skeldergate end and North street end.
5. At the end of Conyngstreet towards the Castlegate.
6. At the end of Jubbergate.
7. At the door of Henry Wyman in Conyngstreet.
8. At the end of Conyngstreet near the Common Hall.
9. At the door of Adam del Brigg.
10. At the gates of the Minster of the blessed Peter.
11. At the end of Gyrdergate in Petergate.
12. Upon the Pavement.*

In 1417 this order was rescinded, the Council being of opinion that 'it was inconvenient and contrary to the profit of the city that the play should be played every year in the same certain places and no others.' At the same time it was ordered that those persons should be allowed to have the play before their houses who would pay the highest prices for the privilege, but that no favour should be shown, the public advantage of the whole community being only considered. This order seems to have continued in force for a considerable time. In 1478 the Corporation leased to Henry and Thomas Dawson, pikemongers, living in Ousegate at the east end of Ousebridge, the station in front of their houses for a period of twelve years. In a compotus of the reign of Henry VIII. there are eleven entries of payments, ranging from two shillings and fourpence to six shillings and eightpence, made

* Davies, p. 232.

by various persons named and others, for the privilege of having the plays performed in as many places. In 1519 the number of stations leased was fourteen; in 1554, the 'Leases for Corpus-crusty Play this yere' were sixteen, the first being 'at the Trinitie yaits where the clerke kepys the regyster,' or MS. volume now printed. Fifteen years later it was ordered by the Council that 'Mr. Cowper in Mykelgate, Mr. Fawks in Coneystreet, and John Chambre in Coliargate, shall have the pageants playd afore their doores, if they will aggre with the chambrelaynes for the same.' *

Great care was taken by the magistrates to have the plays properly placed upon the stage and performed. On the vigil of Corpus Christi a proclamation was published throughout the city enjoining 'all manner of craftsmen to bring furthe ther pageants in order and course, by good players well arrayed and openly spekyng.' In 1476 the Council ordered that 'yerely in tyme of Lentyn there shall be called afore the Maire for the tyme being, four of the most conyng, discrete, and able plaiers within this city, to serche, here, and examine all the plaiers, plaies, and pagents, throughtoute all the artificers belonging to Corpus Christi plaie; and all such as thay shall fynd sufficiant in personne and conyng to the honour of the city, and the worship of the craftes, for to admitte, and all other insufficiant persounes either in conyng, voice, or personne, to discharge, amove, and avoide.' In the same minute it is ordered 'that no plaier that shall plaie in the Corpus Christi plaie be conducte and retayned to plaie but twice on the day of the saide playe, and that he or thay so plaing, plaie not ouer twice the said day, upon payne of xls. to forfet unto the chaumbre as often tymes as he or thay shall be founden defaultie in the same.' The meaning of this is somewhat doubtful, for every player would require to play at each of the twelve, fourteen, or sixteen stations. Its most probable meaning is that suggested by Miss Smith, viz., that no player was to be allowed to assume more than two parts. As to the former part of the minute, 'it forms,' as Miss Smith pointedly remarks, 'one of the steps on

* Davies, pp. 241, 264. *York Plays*, p. xxxiii.

which the greatness of the Elizabethan stage was built, and through which its actors grew up.'

The stage or pageant* on which the plays were performed was a large and high scaffold, drawn from station to station on wheels, and divided into two rooms or platforms, an upper and a lower. The upper one was open above and at the sides; the lower one was concealed from view by hangings of tapestry or cloth. On the lower platform the actors dressed; on the upper one they acted. At times the floor of the street seems to have been used as an addition to the stage. In the pageant of the Temptation the Diabolus appears when no other of the dramatis personæ are present and begins the play by saying—

'Make rome be-lyve, and late me gang,
Who makis here all this thrang?
High you hense! high myght you hang right with a roppe,
I drede me that I dwelle to lang to do a jape.'

The lines we have printed in italics seem to suggest that the Diabolus made his appearance among the spectators and fought his way through them to the stage. We are the more disposed to believe this as the scene of the play is laid in the wilderness. At Coventry it would appear that more than one stage or pageant was used in the performance of some of the plays.* At York each craft or play had its own pageant or stage, and when not in use these huge and cumbrous machines were kept in what were called the Pageant Houses, in a street or place called Ratton Row near the open ground in the south-west angle of the city walls, formerly called Pageant Green, more recently Toft Green, and now occupied by the Railway Station.

The cost of the production of the pageants, which must have been considerable, was met partly by the 'pageant silver,' or statutory contributions collected by the 'pageant masters' from the members of their respective crafts, and partly by the half of

* This name was given to the stage on which the plays were performed, as well as to the plays themselves.

* 'What tyme that processyon is enteryd into the place, and the Herowdys takyn his schaffalde, and Pylate and Annas and Cayphas here schaffaldys,' etc. *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 289. Halliwell,

the fines incurred by the craftsmen or payable to the crafts. By the crafts themselves the support and production of their pageants was regarded as one of the principal purposes of their organisation and existence, and as late as 1572, Miss Smith points out, on the formation of a new company, or the combination of old ones, it was laid down, that the 'craft shall goo with their pageant through the citie as other occupacons and artificers doeth.' Disputes as to the pecuniary liabilities of strangers and others not members of any of the city companies, and all matters in connection with the support of the pageants about which the crafts could not come to an agreement among themselves, were settled by the Mayor and Council, whose sanction seems to have been requisite also for the legalisation of any important alteration. The poorer crafts were sometimes assisted in the production of their pageants by contributions from the city funds. On the 21st of May, 1479, the Town Council and brethren of the Guild of Aberdeen 'consentit and ordanit the alderman to mak the expensis and costis . . . of the play to be plait in the fest of Corpus Xristi nixt to cum' out 'of the comon gude.'* Contributions, however, from the funds of a city or burgh for the production of the pageants seem to have been exceptional. At York, as also elsewhere, though the magistrates exercised a close and even strict supervision over the pageants, the cost of their production was supposed to be met, and as a matter of fact was met, by the crafts performing them. If a craft became too poor to support its pageant, the burden of its production was shared by, or wholly transferred to another craft, or the pageant was allowed to drop, its performance being discontinued until some craft or crafts which had in the meantime grown rich enough to bear the burden of its production, expressed their willingness, and undertook, to revive it.

At York the performance of the pageants was extremely popular, and must have been a source of great profit. Vast crowds gathered together from all parts to witness it, and great preparations were made for their reception as well as entertainment. The performance began between four and five

* *Burgh Records* (Spalding Club), Vol. I., 410.

o'clock in the morning, and continued without intermission throughout the whole of the long midsummer day, reminding one in this respect of the Passion Play of the peasants of Upper Bavaria, and of the almost interminable dramas of the Chinese stage. The peaceful proceedings of the day were not unfrequently interrupted by serious outrages, and the night before the exhibition began a proclamation was issued by the city authorities, forbidding any one to go armed with swords, Carlisle axes, or other weapons, and enjoining all, except knights and 'sowyers of worship that awe haue swerdes borne eftir thame,' to leave their arms at their inns on pain of forfeiture and imprisonment. In spite, however, of the proclamation and the enforcement of its pains and penalties, the disorders frequently rose to a great height, and in the early part of the fifteenth century an important change was made. One William Melton, who is described as a very religious person, a brother of the order of Friars Minor, a professor of holy pageantry, and a most famous preacher of the Word of God, while recommending the Corpus Christi Play to the people as good in itself and highly praiseworthy, denounced the revellings, drunkenness, clamour and singing, and other improprieties with which it was accompanied, both by the citizens and the strangers visiting the city to witness it, so effectually, that he persuaded the people to separate the procession from the play, and to agree to the procession being made on the day of Corpus Christi, and to the Play being played on the vigil of the feast. An ordinance to this effect was accordingly drawn up by the authorities, but though it obtained the full assent of the people at the time, it did not long command their obedience. They complied with it so far as to have the Plays on one day and the procession on another, but the day on which they persisted in exhibiting the pageants was the day of the festival, and the clergy were compelled to be content with the day following for the procession.

Besides the plays now edited by Miss Smith the people of York had several others. 'Once on a time a play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise. This play met

with so much favour that many said:—"Would that this play could be kept up in this city, for the health of souls and for the comfort of the citizens and neighbours."* Out of this desire arose the association known as the Gild of the Lord's Prayer, the main charge of which was 'to keep up this play, to the glory of God the maker of the said prayer, and for the holding up of sins and vices to scorn.' Besides being bound to abstain from dishonest callings and to assist each other with their substance and prayers, the members of the gild were bound, whenever the play was performed in the city of York, to ride with the players through the chief streets, and 'the more becomingly to mark themselves while thus riding to be clad in one suit.' In order to insure good order during the play some of the brethren were required to ride or walk with the performers till the play was ended. According to a compotus roll, dated Michaelmas 1399, in the possession of Canon Raine of York, the gild numbered over a hundred members and their wives. This play, which, as it held up the vices to scorn and the virtues to praise, probably consisted, like the Corpus Christi Play, of several divisions and formed a series, is now lost. At the dissolution of the gild, the play-book seems to have fallen into the hands of John Branthwaite, Master of the Gild, of St. Anthony. In 1558, along with the other officers of his gild, he superintended the performance of the play, in compliance with an order of the Council, by whom the cost of its production was defrayed out of the funds of the city. On 'Thursday next after Trynitie Sunday' 1572, the play, after the play-book, which was still in the hands of the Master of St. Anthony's, had been 'perused, amended, and corrected,' was again performed, and apparently with great pomp, the sheriffs having been ordered 'to ryde with harnessed men accordyng to ancient custome, and euery alderman to fynde sex men, whereof iiij to be in white armour, and ij in coates of plate, and euery of the xxiiij^{or} to fynd iiij men, wherof ij to be in white armour, and ij with calevers, towards the said rydyng.' This was the last time the play was performed. On the 30th of July the Lord Mayor intimated to the Council that 'my Lord Archebisshop of York requested to have

* *English Gilds*, by Toulmin Smith, p. 137.

Scottish Provident Institution.

TABLE OF PREMIUMS, BY DIFFERENT MODES OF PAYMENT,
For Assurance of £100 at Death—With Profits.

Age next Birth-day.	Annual Premium payable during Life.	ANNUAL PREMIUM LIMITED TO			Single Payment.	Age next Birth-day.
		Twenty-one Payments.	Fourteen Payments.	Seven Payments.		
21	£1 16 3	£2 10 6	£3 4 11	£5 10 0	£33 0 1	21
22	1 16 9	2 11 0	3 5 9	5 11 0	33 5 10	22
23	1 17 2	2 11 6	3 6 5	5 12 1	33 11 2	23
24	1 17 7	2 12 1	3 6 11	5 13 1	33 16 5	24
25	1 18 0	2 12 6	3 7 3	5 14 0	34 2 0	25
26	1 18 6	2 13 0	3 7 10	5 14 11	34 8 2	26
27	1 19 2	2 13 6	3 8 7	5 15 11	34 16 1	27
28	1 19 11	2 14 1	3 9 5	5 17 1	35 4 9	28
29	2 0 8	2 14 8	3 10 3	5 18 6	35 14 1	29
*30	2 1 6	2 15 4	3 11 2	6 0 1	36 4 0	*30
31	2 2 6	2 16 2	3 12 1	6 1 10	36 14 6	31
32	2 3 5	2 17 1	3 13 2	6 3 8	37 5 5	32
33	2 4 6	2 18 0	3 14 4	6 5 8	37 17 2	33
34	2 5 7	2 19 0	3 15 7	6 7 9	38 9 7	34
35	2 6 10	3 0 2	3 16 11	6 10 0	39 2 9	35
36	2 8 2	3 1 5	3 18 4	6 12 5	39 16 11	36
37	2 9 8	3 2 9	3 19 11	6 15 0	40 12 4	37
38	2 11 3	3 4 3	4 1 7	6 17 9	41 8 7	38
39	2 12 11	3 5 9	4 3 4	7 0 7	42 5 4	39
+40	2 14 9	3 7 5	4 5 2	7 3 7	43 2 10	+40
41	2 16 8	3 9 2	4 7 2	7 6 8	44 0 11	41
42	2 18 8	3 11 1	4 9 3	7 9 11	44 19 9	42
43	3 0 11	3 13 1	4 11 5	7 13 3	45 19 3	43
44	3 3 3	3 15 3	4 13 10	7 16 9	46 19 7	44
45	3 5 9	3 17 6	4 16 4	8 0 7	48 0 8	45
46	3 8 5	4 0 0	4 19 1	8 4 6	49 2 8	46
47	3 11 5	4 2 8	5 2 1	8 8 8	50 5 8	47
48	3 14 8	4 5 8	5 5 4	8 13 2	51 9 7	48
49	3 18 1	4 8 9	5 8 9	8 17 11	52 14 1	49
50	4 1 7	4 12 1	5 12 4	9 2 10	53 19 3	50
51	4 5 6	4 15 5	5 16 1	9 7 11	55 4 5	51
52	4 9 5	4 18 10	5 19 11	9 13 1	56 9 0	52
53	4 13 5	5 2 5	6 3 11	9 18 3	57 12 11	53
54	4 17 8	5 6 3	6 8 0	10 3 5	58 17 2	54
55	5 1 11	5 10 2	6 12 1	10 8 6	60 0 8	55
56	5 6 4	.....	6 14 9	10 13 7	61 3 8	56
57	5 10 11	.....	6 18 8	10 18 8	62 6 5	57
58	5 15 9	.....	7 2 9	11 3 10	63 9 4	58
59	6 1 0	.....	7 7 3	11 9 0	64 12 11	59
60	6 6 7	.....	7 12 0	11 14 3	65 16 9	60

* EXAMPLE.—A person of 30 may thus secure £1000 at death, by a yearly payment, during life, of £20:15s. This Premium, if paid to any other of the Scottish Mutual Offices, would secure £800 only, instead of £1000.

[The non-participating Premiums of other Offices differ very little from these Premiums, so that persons who assure with them virtually throw away the prospect of additions from the Profits, without any compensating advantage.]

OR, if unwilling to burden himself with payments during his whole life, he may secure the same sum of £1000 by twenty-one yearly payments of £27:13:4—being thus free of payment after age 50.

† At age 40 the Premium ceasing at age 60 is, for £1000, £23:14:2, being about the same as most Offices require to be paid during the whole term of life.

THE CORPORATION OF THE

Scottish Provident Institution.

HEAD OFFICE—6 ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH.

THIS INSTITUTION combines the advantages of

Mutual Assurance with Moderate Premiums.

THE PREMIUMS are so moderate that at most ages an Assurance of £1200 or £1250 may be secured from the first for the same yearly payment which would elsewhere assure (with profits) £1000 only.

The Whole PROFITS go to the Policyholders on a system at once safe and equitable,—no share being given to those by whose early death there is a *loss*. At last division Policies for £1000 sharing a first time were increased to sums varying from £1180 to £1300 or more; others to £1400, £1700, and upwards.

At the 47TH ANNUAL MEETING the following results were reported—

**New Assurances completed, £1,015,155; with Premiums, £35,274.
Income in Year, £688,920. Claims, £269,880.**

THE FUNDS (increased in year by £327,540) **EXCEED £5,000,000.**

Only Two Offices in the Kingdom (both older) have as large a Fund.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir WILLIAM JOHNSTON) referred to his early connection with the Office, of which he was one of the survivors of the original Board; and, as illustrating the advantage of assuring early, particularly on a scale of Terminable Premiums, and showing the prosperity of the Institution, he instanced his own Policy as one of those which had been doubled, while he had long ceased to pay Premiums.

The CONDITIONS of Assurance have recently been revised.

Whole-World Licenses and Non-Forfeiture of Policies.

POLICIES are generally now free from restriction on residence **after five years**, and **unchallengeable** on any ground but fraud.

POLICIES may be revived (after month of grace) on payment of premium within a year without proof of health. In the case of death intervening, when the value exceeds the unpaid premium the full sum is payable, under deduction of arrears.

CLAIMS PAYABLE ONE MONTH AFTER PROOF.

Full Explanations will be found in REPORT, to be had on application.

EDINBURGH, 1885.

JAMES WATSON, *Manager.*

a copie of the Bookes of the Pater Noster play, whereupon it was agreed that His Grace shall have a trewe copie of all the said bookes even as they weare played this yere.' The books remained in the Archbishop's possession three years, when a deputation was sent from the city to request his Grace to return them. Whether he did or not is unknown. They have not been heard of since.

Another play performed in the city of York was the Creed Play belonging to the gild of Corpus Christi, which was founded in 1408, but had nothing to do with the Corpus Christi plays, these being performed, as we have seen, by the various craft-gilds. The principal object of the Corpus Christi gild seems to have been to keep up a solemn procession on the Friday after Corpus Christi. The gild was rich and extremely popular, its list of members covering no fewer than 270 folio pages, and containing among them the names of several persons of the highest ranks. The Creed Play was bequeathed to it by William Revetor, a chantry priest of St. Williams on Ousebridge, on condition that 'this incomparable play' should be publicly performed every tenth year in various parts of the city to suitable audiences for their spiritual benefit. The date of the bequest is unknown, but in the year 1455 the original MS. of the Play had become so worn that the masters and keepers of the gild had got it transcribed. When making preparations for the visit of Richard III. the Council agreed 'that the Creed Play shall be playd afore our suffreyne lord the King of Sunday next cumyng, upon the cost of the most onest men of every parish in thys cite.*' In 1495 the masters and keepers of the gild produced the transcript they had procured of the play before the city Council and undertook to comply with the injunctions of the testator by performing the play that year and every successive tenth year. Ten years after this, it was ordered to be played before the feast of Lammas. Twenty years later, it was appointed to be performed on the Sunday before Lammas, in the Common Hall. Falling to be played in 1535 it was that year substituted for the Corpus Christi plays, and was again played in the Common Hall, on Lammas Day, the crafts paying one half of their pageant

* Davies, 171.

silver to defray the expenses. The next tenth year, when the play fell to be played, the crafts were not so ready to meet the wishes of the Council and refused to forego the exhibition of their own pageants in favour of it. Two years later, 1547, the gild was suppressed. The play-book then fell into the hands of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas. In 1568 the Council ordered the play to be played instead of the Corpus Christi plays. The book was accordingly procured from the master and brethren of St. Thomas's Hospital and sent to Dr. Hutton the Dean of York for his advice upon it, who wrote back to the Lord Mayor, 'I assure you yf I were worthie to geve your lordship and your right worshipfull brethren consell, suerlie mine advise shuld be that it shuld not be plaid, ffor thoghe it was plausible yeares agoe, and wold now also of the ignorant sort be well liked, yet now in this happie time of the gospell, I knowe the learned will mislike it, and how the state will beare with it, I know not.' The play was accordingly not performed, and nothing more is heard about it. In all probability like the Corpus Christi and the Pater Noster plays, this also formed a series or collection, and like them would occupy a considerable time in its performance. This, as Davies suggests, is probably one of the reasons why its performance was accepted in lieu of the Corpus Christi play.

Another play performed at York was the Midsummer play of 'one John Grafton, Schoolmaister.' It was first performed in 1584. The sheriffs who examined the play ordered that 'the shewe shall begynne betwene iiij^{or} and fyve of the clock on Midsummer even next, and to be endid by xj of the clocke, and than the play to begynne at one of the clocke at afternoone.' It was appointed to be played at eight stations, the last being 'at the bull ryng upon the payvement.' The play seems to have been fairly popular and to have been repeated once or twice.

The Corpus Christi Plays continued to be regularly performed every year, with the exception already referred to, down to the year 1548, when the minute of the Council directing the exhibition contains the somewhat significant clause: 'certen pagauntes excepte, that is to say, the deyng of our lady, the assumption of our lady, and the coronacion of our lady.' In 1550 and 1552

the performance was suspended in consequence of the prevalence of the plague, one half of the pageant money of the latter year being diverted to the benefit of the people 'visited with the sykenesse which is now dangerouse in the citie.' During the reign of Mary the pageants were more popular than ever, and the number of 'leases for Corpuscristy Play' was considerably increased. In 1558 it was thought best that the play of Corpus Christi should be 'spared and leaft of playing, the tyme instant beyng bothe troublouse with warres, and also contagious with sykeness.' This was in March, but in the following month affairs brightened, and the resolution was come to of having the Pater Noster play performed on Corpus Christi day. During the first and second year of Elizabeth's reign the Corpus Christi Plays were discontinued. The people, however, were not disposed to be deprived of their favourite amusement, and from time to time the Council in subsequent years complied with their wishes. The Plays were performed in 1562, and again in the following year. During the next three years in consequence of war and sickness the performance was suspended. In 1567 it was revived. In the following year Dr. Hutton gave his 'advise' respecting the Creed Play, which it was proposed to substitute for the Corpus Christi Play, and though an attempt was subsequently made to obtain the performance of the latter, nothing came of it; but in the year following (1569) the 'commoners' had their way, and an order was given that the Corpus Christi Play should be performed 'on Tewesday in Witsone week.' Great preparations were made, and fourteen places were appointed for the hearing of the Play. This was the last time the Play was performed. A resolution was come to for its performance in 1579, as we have seen, and for having the 'booke' sent to 'my Lord Archebisshop and Mr. Dean' to 'correcte,' but there is no evidence that the pageants were performed. In the year following, 'the commons' once more 'did earnestly request of my Lord Mayor and others the worshipful assemblie that Corpus Christi play might be played this yere.' The only response the Lord Mayor gave was 'that he and his brethren would consider of their request.' This, as far as is known, was the last attempt made to secure the performance of the Play. Henceforth, along with the

other Mystery Plays, the York Corpus Christi Plays cease to be mentioned in the minutes of the Council.*

We had purposed making some further remarks on Miss Smith's account of the Mystery Plays of Aberdeen which seems to us to be scarcely correct, and also on the dialect of the York Corpus Christi Plays: but our space is exhausted, and we can only add our renewed expression of admiration for the remarkably able manner in which Miss Smith has executed her task, and more especially for the extremely erudite Introduction which she has written for the Plays, which form an undoubtedly and highly valuable addition to our literature, and more particularly to that branch of it which all the literary nations of the Continent have learned to appreciate and almost to envy, and of which all who speak the English language are justly proud.

ART. III.—SCOTLAND'S NEW DEPARTURE IN PHILOSOPHY.

1. *The Philosophy of Kant.* By Professor E. CAIRD. Glasgow, 1877.
2. *The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time.* By Professor E. CAIRD. Glasgow, 1881.
3. *Hegel.* By Professor E. CAIRD. Edinburgh, 1883.
4. *The Social Philosophy of Comte.* By Professor E. CAIRD. Glasgow, 1885.
5. *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion.* By Principal CAIRD. Glasgow, 1880.
6. *Kant and His English Critics.* By Professor WATSON. Glasgow, 1881.
7. *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism.* By Professor WATSON. Chicago, 1882.
8. *On the Philosophy of Kant.* By Professor ADAMSON. Edinburgh, 1879.

* The above facts are taken from Davies' extremely interesting Appendix on the C. C. Festival at York.

9. *Fichte*. By Professor ADAMSON. Edinburgh, 1881.
10. *The Development from Kant to Hegel*. By Professor SETH. London, 1882.
11. *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*. Edited by Professor SETH and R. B. HALDANE. London, 1883.

JUST as material existence is subject to definite laws, so intellectual life is controlled by special principles. Speculative thought, no less than rudimentary instinct, is a manifestation of unseen power. In the one case, investigation seeks to reflect upon the history of the race; in the other, chiefly upon that of the individual. The gradual growth of the human spirit is most visible in the great intellectual movements of the past. Development of thought, because often lacking definite form, is not always so striking as external evolution. Thus, the ultimate value of a new epoch usually fails to be estimated by the contemporary generation. It would therefore appear that difficulty, if not danger, besets any final consideration of present philosophical activities. Be that as it may, one cannot help noticing that, in Scotland, philosophy has recently undergone a marked transformation. The new departure has been taking slow shape during the last twenty years, and may now be said to constitute a distinct period. Later workers will one day be able to gauge its full significance. Meanwhile the fact is obvious, and the general tendencies of the teaching may be grasped with some approach to accuracy.

Even when it might have been expected that the influence of Sir William Hamilton would have been at its height, indications were not wanting that Scotland was sick of 'common sense.' Any advance made by the learned Edinburgh professor upon the doctrines of Reid and Stewart, left their fundamental dualism unaffected. The teaching of Professor Ferrier of St. Andrews was the earliest sign of coming reaction. Had he been spared to follow up his study of German idealism, traces of which are to be found in his *Institute of Metaphysic*, he might have altered the entire course of Scottish speculation. But that was reserved for a

later time. The vigorous author of the *Secret of Hegel* gave explicit form to Ferrier's vague longings. The gradual growth of the now dominant idealism may be said to date from the publication of Dr. Hutchison Stirling's masterpiece. During the sixteen years that elapsed ere the appearance of Professor Caird's *Kant*, the movement, at first slight, was surely gaining strength. Now, thanks to the personal charm of the most influential philosophical teacher in Britain, it has assumed remarkable proportions. The fact cannot be disguised that, since the all too early death of his friend Professor Green, Professor Edward Caird has come to be considered the representative of the rising school. A man of his persuasive gentleness, lucidity and calm earnestness in the face of difficulty, does not lecture daily to some three hundred students without interesting all; and, in the case of his more talented hearers, interest often ripens into enthusiasm. It may be that, under his guidance, Scotland will one day assume her ancient position in the vanguard of philosophical investigation. But, whatever our hopes for the future, we must meantime subordinate them to a description of the lines along which our country is at present travelling.

What is philosophy? Hegel, in his *Encyclopædia*, says that it is a 'thinking view of things.' The reply does not appear to simplify the difficulty, and it is precisely on this account that idealism finds it hard to convince the Scottish mind. When self and not-self are held separate, reflective analysis of the former is at least possible. But when these two elements are combined in some mysterious relationship, surely confusion must be the only result. Although philosophy may thus look 'uncanny,' it is really not so. It needs no introduction, because it is implicitly present in the mind of every man. Socratic questioning may indeed bring forth no very satisfactory replies, but the very circumstance that it is understood augurs well for future progress. In the work-a-day world the hurry of business or the clamour of antagonistic opinions prevents that viewing of things *sub specie aeternitatis* which is the first condition of speculative thought. Philosophy, living in a more serene atmosphere, has to purge away partiality and imperfection.

Thought reappears after a process neither of renewal nor destruction, but of transformation. No attempt is made to construct a peculiar system of the universe. On the contrary, the law that 'what is real is rational, and what is rational is real,' is rigorously observed. In other words, reflection must restate the past, and endeavour to disclose the principles by which the ordinary consciousness is inspired. Man has created certain civil and religious institutions; they have not fallen from heaven ready-made, but are the results of long-sustained progressive effort. What are they, and How did they arise? These are the problems which philosophy has to solve.

According to the 'common sense' views that were in vogue some thirty years ago, every man was the arbiter of his own speculative life, if such it could be called. The very existence of reason was supposed to imply certain intuitive principles alike unprovable and unassailable. In short, the scepticism of Hume had occasioned a reaction which, for want of any more obvious standpoint, had fallen back upon the *argumentum ad hominem*. Doubt might do its utmost, but in presence of the affirmation '*I believe*' it could be of no avail. Such procedure was very much as if one reasoned thus: doubt exists, *I do not* doubt, therefore there is no doubt. Kant, and his great idealistic successors, Fichte, Schelling, and especially Hegel, found a different reply. The new Scotch school, while retaining its national practicality, is endeavouring to assimilate what is best in their systems. It is no longer possible to exorcise the so-called evil spirit of scepticism by a mere affirmation of certainty. Either analysis can be shown to dissolve belief in reality, or the very process itself implies something more than can be derived from externality alone. The former was the view of Hume, the latter is that of our contemporaries. Obviously, then, a correct metaphysic lies at the root of the whole matter. Either man is antagonistic to the world, and *vice versa*, or some inner principle causes the difference to disappear in a higher unity.

Those who enter upon the philosophical discussion of Religion, Ethics or Logic, must necessarily assume certain metaphysical principles. All are agreed that mind involves

a priori principles without which thought is impossible. Idealists like Green, realists like Mr. Spencer, and intuitionists like Reid, may give different explanations of their origin; but that they form an indispensable factor in knowledge no one denies. It is therefore plain that any satisfactory theory of the universe must, in the first instance, depend upon its metaphysical basis. The problem of philosophy may be one with that of criticism, but both imply, to begin with, some view of the relation between thought and things. Hence in order to grasp the bearings of the new movement one must at the outset obtain a concise account of its first principles.

If a declaration of the unity of thought and being seem a startling paradox, its formal proof is sober enough. It will be readily admitted that, on a casual survey of ordinary consciousness, knowledge presents two sides. 'I see this table.' The 'I' and the external 'table' are the two striking facts. Now, while British philosophers usually divorce the one from the other, they at the same time lay stress upon the outer existence of the 'table' as such. Idealists would not thus separate the two, and, further, they would largely depend for their arguments upon a due importance being accorded to the 'self.' Their contention is, that neither the 'ego' nor the 'table' is of such supreme moment as the relationship between them; and that this, in turn, is conditioned by the activity of the former. Things exist only for thought, and thought develops its possibilities only in relation to things. No doubt one may say that external realities have an independent existence of their own. There is no difficulty in making such a statement, and, moreover, most people will readily assent to it. But the question is not so much one of the reality or illusiveness of material objects, as of what the bare affirmation of their abstract existence implies. One can always allow the *possibility* of external reality. The crucial point is that 'things in themselves' are meaningless apart from a mind in relation to which they are known. Thought and things are one, not in the sense that the former creates the latter, but because the latter are important only in so far as they can be brought into connexion with

the former. It is self-contradictory to say that the relation in question must be between the *ego* and an absolute outer reality: for that which must be in order that thought may enter into relationship with it, exists only in virtue of some similar connexion. In other words, analyse existence as far back as you please, and you will invariably arrive at the conclusion that the predication, even of bare 'unknowableness,' implies all that is necessary to knowledge. A profession of ignorance, if it be possessed of any actuality, is itself a manifestation of consciousness; you cannot get behind the activity of mind, for in the very process you make use of exactly those principles which you would fain explain. In the same way, if abstract self-existence be predicated of any object, mind supplies the principles by which the object is thus characterised; and, as a consequence, the abstract self-existence has already disappeared. The importance of the external thing, if one can legitimately so speak, lies not in itself, but in that which mind reads into it. Apart from thought being is meaningless. Mind recognises difference between itself and things, and between different things, but it can only do so because unity or relationship is already present. In the one case, self and not-self are contrasted,—consciousness is connected with things; in the other, these latter are contrasted and connected with one another in consciousness. A balance has thus to be preserved between two tendencies. Relationship is really the important fact in thought, but its truth is developed by difference. If it be true that things exist only in relation to thought, it is equally the case that this relationship is knowable only because it is between two separate factors. Metaphysics equally involve analysis and synthesis; but both processes alike depend upon consciousness. So soon as too great stress is laid upon one or the other, philosophy begins to obscure instead of to explain thought. For analysis ends in the absurd supposition that man is somehow able to divest himself of his own mind, while synthesis leads to the equal absurdity that the individual can know nothing but the states of his own consciousness. On the other hand, the truth is that the individual only recognises himself in relation to the world,

and the world is reasonable only because it exists for him. Metaphysics thus centre in a principle which unifies both extremes.

As a consequence of this view man assumes a new importance in the world of thought. A principle, all powerful within its own sphere, renders the universe rational. In man it finds the suitable vehicle of its expression. Life becomes richer the more one reads into it, and thought develops fresh capabilities as it widens its range. We have seen that consciousness involves conceptions both of the self and the not-self. But, in order to the existence of either idea, the activity of the *ego* is also necessary. Hence, man is not only aware of the two elements in knowledge, he is the individual to whom alone they are possible. He thus not only dominates the mental and material worlds, but also sways the principles by which they are connected. His vantage ground is bounded by nothing short of universality. Nature can be known only in relation to spirit, because man possesses the principle whereby the world is rendered rational. It is not denied that the individual finds himself necessarily limited by his fellows and by external things. That is one side of the case. On the other hand, it is rather asserted that these very limitations occasion the contradictions necessary to progress. For they create dilemmas that call forth powers previously only latent. But, while admitting this, it must ever be remembered that the individual is himself conscious not of his limitations alone, but also of his capabilities. There is something in him that gives unity to apparent differences. Matter is a foil to spirit in so far as it is that in opposition to which spirit evinces its qualities. The process of knowledge is nothing more than the reconciliation of man with nature, and its principle is self-consciousness. The deeper the antagonism overcome, the richer will be the resultant life. Man's mental activity, like the athlete's *physique*, is strengthened by constant training. Opposition is assimilated because it can be confronted with an absolute command of that power upon which it is itself dependent. 'Mind stoops to learn, but at the same time to conquer.' Man is thus possessed of the key to the secret of his own and

the world's existence. Nothing is known out of relation to his spiritual activity, and his self-knowledge, while dependent upon connection with the not-self, is also a result of his own acquirements. Remove him from his place at the centre of the universe and you destroy intelligibility. Hence, the entire history of the human race is the manifestation of an ideal principle which is slowly rising to a better appreciation of its own capabilities. Every wider view or deeper sympathy is but an evidence of its never-ceasing evolution. Philosophy in re-thinking the past endeavours to trace this progress. Some such first principle as has been indicated is present. The task is to rationalise the evolution of intelligence by probing the meaning of all that has gone before. If self-consciousness be at the beginning, it is also at the end of all things. For, it is the one pre-supposition of knowledge, as it is the subject-matter of philosophy.

Seeing then that rational life is but a process in all departments of which the same principle is ever present, philosophical investigation is fraught with deepest interest. Development, evolution, progress, call it what you will, is the leading idea of modern thought. Any science that professes to advance the progressive conception of things finds many willing workers and adherents. It is of much moment that, when such an all-embracing idea sways the sciences, philosophy should be able to give it a cordial welcome. It is held that the notion of development is as indispensable to a connected account of human thought, as to the theory of physical evolution. Perhaps Scotland's new departure derives a certain fascination from the catholic views which its exponents have shown themselves capable of taking. They assuredly evince a reverence for the past and a hope for the future, which no fragmentary psychology or calculating ethic could supply. Man gains a spirit of tolerance, if not of nobility, from the knowledge that the past is not lost, but rather lives in the present, and is an essential condition of the future. In the unification of history all research is welcome, provided it be actuated by a devotion to truth. Every conquest of science, as well as the less obvious results of reflection, has its own

special importance as a product of the age in which it is made. The world-wide impulse that founded the Royal Society, and took form in the discoveries of Galileo, Descartes, Kepler, and Harvey also made possible the *Advancement of Learning* and the *Novum Organum*. It was reserved for a later generation to learn this. So little was it understood at the moment that Harvey sarcastically said, 'The Lord Chancellor writes on science like a Lord Chancellor.' Yet both critic and criticised were the offspring of the same tendency. The work of philosophy, then, is to remove like misconceptions. In this task the instrument employed is the metaphysical principle already indicated. The universe, as rational, is a progressive manifestation of thought. Reason may lean now to the 'self,' anon to the 'not-self.' But the whole truth is visible only when these two elements have been brought into a unity in which each occupies a position conditioned by its relationship with the other. A comprehensive conception of this nature revolutionises one's views in all departments of thought. It may be interesting to notice its application in several particular instances.

As we are considering a philosophical principle, we naturally turn first to the history of speculative thought. The usual account of past systems is always a more or less detailed presentation of supposed facts. We learn, for example, that Aristotle contradicted Plato, that the Stoics were the enemies of the Epicureans, that Berkeley was opposed to Locke, and that Hume was a sceptical individual of a highly dangerous type. In a certain sense these pieces of information may be true, and they can sometimes be rendered even amusing. But, after all, when dealt with in this way, past philosophical thought appears to be simply 'chaos worse confounded.' An almost magical change is wrought by the view now before us. Plato emphasizes one of the necessary sides of thought, Aristotle the other; Stoics and Epicureans are at one in attaching a hitherto unheard-of value to the individual as such; Berkeley and Locke both start from the same assumption, and part company only to meet their inevitable fate at the hands of Hume. The history

of philosophy has in short become scientific. A double movement of progress is visible. Philosophy develops not only in itself, but also towards its true self. Men, on the one hand, reflect over the past, and on the other, attempt to arrive at a satisfactory theory. A natural advance takes place from simple to complex by the pendulum-like swing of thought now to unity, now to diversity. Opposing theories generally pay exclusive attention to one phase of this progress. Plato is synthetic, Aristotle analytic; but both analysis and synthesis are necessary to a final, or even comprehensive theory. In the history of philosophy successive schools are seen attempting to explain thought as a whole by reference to only one of its necessary factors. Conflict ensues, and mediation by means of a less dogmatic theory is called for. But, if the unity then formulated be imperfect, rivalry will break out afresh. From the very nature of thought, as at once subjective and objective, it seems probable that for every new problem two solutions will be found. Each will contain a partial truth, and will thus possess the means of correcting its opposite. Synthesis, for example, will put an end to perplexing analyses. By such or similar processes chaos is reduced to order, and progress found in evident contradiction.

Logic, if not identical with metaphysic, is at least cognate to it; and it may be remarked in passing, that we look upon this as the weak point in Scotland's new departure. The truth is that its logic has not yet been distinctly formulated. Perhaps this is due to the circumstance that the practical turn which Scotland has given to German idealism is unfavourable to abstract speculation. In any case, however, logic really follows as a necessary consequence from metaphysic. We find at all events that it is something very different from Hamilton's memory racking formalism. It is rather an analysis of the process by which mind goes out of itself to constitute knowledge, and then returns enriched. In other words, thought grows out of the relationship between subject and object. That relationship is the product of an unconscious activity. Logic is the science by which this activity is made conscious, and described in all its details. It is, in short, the

theory of the connexion between knowledge and reality. For example, when I say 'there is a dog,' a judgment is implied. What, then, does it involve? Obviously, I, the dog, and *my* activity. By means of certain first principles constitutive of thought, I refer my general idea of dog to the particular animal before me. The process is at once analytic and synthetic. For I distinguish the dog from myself, and at the same time bring it into unity with my own conceptions. In this particular we are open to correction; but we cannot see how, on the metaphysical principle implied, any absolute distinction can be made between analytic and synthetic judgments. The general character of logic, however, is plain. It is a formal exhibition of the process by which mind explains the necessary relationship between positive reality and ideal principle. There is, as might be expected, plenty of room for difference of opinion on particular points, such as the nature of Judgment, of Affirmation and Negation, or of Inference; but the general aim is identical in all cases.

The metaphysical or theoretical, and the ethical or practical sides of life cannot be separated. The principle of intellect is that of action also. Self-consciousness is as essential to the existence of will as to the being of knowledge. Just as all the varied contents of thought presuppose one intellect out of relation to which they would be impossible, so the endless multiplicity of desire is but the changing aspect of one will. In the moral life man reveals his own nature. No doubt it is composed of a large number of particular acts. But the unity of self transcends them all. Will is a further development of intellect in so far as it is the practical manifestation of the thought process. Morality is therefore an endeavour after self-realisation. This does not imply an attempt to make the object conformable to the subject; for only as the latter falls short of its true strength will the former be an obstacle. Or, to put it otherwise, there is no irreconcilable antagonism between the universal and the individual. The same principle underlies both. The sole difficulty is that, although infinite, it is expressed in an apparently finite being. Objects may be

modified by will, they can never be replaced by it. Sometimes differentiation may predominate, at others integration. But neither contains the whole truth; both are necessary to complete the circle of life. In every act of practical activity one self, inspired always by the same principle, is present. Man thus reproduces an universal spiritual principle. It is this that enables him to recognise at once his own individuality, and his relationship with God and the world. He is consequently a 'free cause.' The question of freedom has been so much debated that it may be instructive to quote an idealistic deliverance on the subject. * 'When we transfer the term "cause," then, from a relation between one thing and another within the determined world to the relation between that world and the agent implied in its existence, we must understand that there is no separate particularity in the agent, on the one side, and the determined world as a whole, on the other, such as characterises any agent and patient, any cause and effect, within the determined world. The agent must act absolutely from itself in the action through which that world is,—not, as does everything within the world, under determination by something else. The world has no character but that given it by this action; the agent no character but that which it gives itself in this action.' The moral life is a constant effort to overcome opposition, and thus to realise the self. Circumstances may indeed supply motives, but their existence is, in turn, dependent upon the activity of self-consciousness. Man is constantly striving to remove limitations that are of his own creation. He possesses an ideal of his own to which he incessantly endeavours to conform. While recognising the personal character of the ideal, he also knows that it is one all the world over. So, every effort to realise the higher nature of self can be identified with, in fact is inseparable from, progress towards social perfection. 'And the poet who said—

"Unless above himself he can
Exalt himself, how mean a thing is man!"

had truly discerned that moral life also is dependent on the

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, T. H. Green, p. 81.

transformation of man's individuality by this universal consciousness with which it is linked and bound up.'*

Idealism does not derive its fascination from a subtle, nor, as some would say, from an obscure logic. Any power that it possesses is rather due to its fertile practical applications. It finds a new meaning in history, it discerns a regular progress in art, it supplies a comprehensive theory of the state. Did these several departments exhaust its activities, it would still wield no contemptible influence. But so far from halting here, it enters upon another domain of human thought which, for the Scottish mind, is probably the most attractive. The system from which the present tendencies derive their main impulse is essentially religious. In the history of religion, as in that of philosophy, progress by antagonism is the ruling idea. Monotheism and pantheism are possessed each of a half-truth. Only when both have been purged and united can the true religion be revealed. Christianity has accomplished this reconciliation. So our philosophy is as essentially Christian as religious. The dualism visible in metaphysics between self and not-self, in the history of philosophy between successive one-sided theories, in ethics between will and desire, reappears in religion between God and man. Hence the need for salvation. Throughout the entire range of self-consciousness, no matter in what department its activity may be manifested, the same principle invariably holds good. 'He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life shall save it.' Man exists only in relation to his fellow men and to God. In a sense they have an absolute claim upon him, so that the idea of self-sacrifice is involved in his very nature. The progress of self must be mediated by some negative existence. For, every external limit is a means of ascent to higher things. The universe rests upon the self-consciousness of man who, in like manner, derives his intellect from the Absolute Being. The entire process of thought is typical of sin, of the fall, and of redemption. And, as the deepest contradictions of human life occur in the sphere of

* *Comte*, E. Caird, p. 132.

religion, so here also the highest exemplification of the movement of self-consciousness is mirrored.

Scotland has been accused of 'wearing Germany's old clothes.' While there can be no doubt that she derives her chief inspiration from Kant and Hegel, the charge brought against her is in no fair sense true; for she sets out with immense advantages which the German thinkers did not possess. Darwin has read the idea of organism, the distinctive category of mind, into merely conscious life; the science of religion has furnished new views of man's aspirations; philology has found unity in an unexpected place; comparative study has been steadily dispelling the gloom of ignorance; the researches of Tylor, Keary, McLennan, Maine, Lubbock, Morgan and others have lifted the veil from the obscure past. Everything is favourable to a cessation of mental gymnastics. Idealism puts forth its true power when it shows itself capable of taking a living interest in the practical activities of thought; and, in this respect the new movement may already claim a position of its own. An age of criticism is no time at which to wander in the wilderness seeking for a prophet. Man's everyday life, poor and miserable though it may seem to some more favoured individuals, is the one object of interest. To understand what humanity has done and is doing,—that is the aim of speculative thought.

In addition to works already cited, others more recent or in preparation, may be mentioned to prove present activity. In a less purely philosophical direction are Mr. Cappon's 'Victor Hugo,' and Mr. Bonar's 'Malthus.' Principal Caird is writing on Spinoza, Professor Caird has a new and altered edition of *Kant* in preparation, while Prof. Watson is busily engaged on a psychological work. Presumably Mr. Sorley's 'Shaw' lectures on Kantian ethics and the ethics of Evolution will soon see the light, and many look forward to Mr. McKenzie's discourses upon the same foundation. It is also interesting to note that within the last few years Scotland has given four professors to Wales, two to England, and one to Canada, who are all more or less influenced by idealistic tendencies. Yet it would be distinctly unfair, or rather untrue, to

allege that Scotland alone appreciates the value of idealism. Similar leanings are strongly shown both in England and America. Indeed, on the other side of the Atlantic they have reached a quite phenomenal development, and have produced wide-spread interest in speculative subjects. In England, Oxford is the home of idealism; and in America, Concord. One need only mention the names of the late Professor Green and the Rev. Edwin Wallace, of Messrs. F. H. Bradley, Prof. Nettleship, Bosanquet, J. S. Haldane, R. B. Haldane, and A. C. Bradley, not forgetting their Scottish colleagues, Prof. Wallace of Oxford, Principal Fairbairn of Airedale, and Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., to show how wide-spread the revival is. In America its followers form a no less distinguished company. Among them are to be numbered Professors W. T. Harris, G. S. Morris, Howison, and Kedney, Messrs. Hazard and Kroeger, the last mentioned now unfortunately deceased. Yet one may fairly claim that, in proportion to her comparatively slender means, Scotland is taking a very prominent place. We heartily agree with a generous critic of another school that *'no better proof could be given of the vitality of speculation in Scotland than the existence of a distinct and well defined Hegelian school within the University of Glasgow.' In philosophy, and if we dare say so, in theology, Scotland may once more attain her former high estate, when her sons shall have learned to substitute for a morbid dead-alive psychology an intelligent appreciation of the marvellous scientific movements of the day, and for a self-opinionative assertion of irresponsible individual convictions an understanding of the profound liberalising principles of the past.

* Professor Knight on Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*. *Mind*, Vol. V.

ART. IV.—SCOTTISH CATHOLICS UNDER MARY
AND JAMES.

Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI. Edited by W. FORBES-LEITH, S.J. Edinburgh, 1885.

WE have again to thank Father Forbes-Leith for placing before us new and valuable facts relating to our national history. We have had occasion in these pages to draw attention to his two admirable works, *The Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland*, and *The History of the Scots Guards in France*, and the volume now before us will yield to neither in the interest of its contents.

In publishing these 'Narratives,' Father Forbes-Leith proposes to make more generally known the condition of Scottish Catholics after the period of the Reformation, and, to use the Author's own words, 'without professing to be a consecutive history, they will enable the reader to form his own judgment from the evidence of contemporary witnesses.'

The many original documents contained in the volume, and now published for the first time, are of singular value, and among them none more so than the Report by De Gouda, the Papal envoy sent to Queen Mary in 1562, and a long lost portion of Bishop Leslie's Narrative, discovered among the archives of the Vatican. It is of the contents of these two papers, which form in themselves a rare and interesting chapter of Scottish history, that we propose to give some short account.

At the time of De Gouda's visit to Scotland, Queen Mary had passed through the first few and stormy months of her reign. She had settled her Cabinet and Council, and was preparing to make a progress through the central counties of the Kingdom, when word was brought to her that a Jesuit had arrived in Scotland, bearing a secret message from the Pope. So great was the feeling among the Reformers against any intercourse with Rome, that Mary dared not receive the Papal envoy openly, and owing to the difficulties of her position, and the dangers to which De Gouda was himself exposed, some time

elapsed before the interview could take place. De Gouda, in the report of his journey, addressed to his Superior, Father Laynez, the General of the Society, gives an interesting account of his adventures, and in particular of his audience with Queen Mary.

Of Father de Gouda's personal history, we have no record. The nature of the mission confided to him, however, and the manner in which he carried it out, sufficiently testify to the prudence and zeal which characterized him. At the time when De Gouda was chosen to undertake the perilous task of bearing the Pope's letter to Scotland, he was stationed in Holland. Summoned to Louvain by his Superior, Father Everard, about the Easter time of 1562, he was there informed of the mission to be entrusted to him, and received, through the medium of Cardinal Amulius, the Apostolic Brief which he was to bear to Queen Mary, the Bishops, and some of the Ministers of State in Scotland. De Gouda was unable to start on his journey till the month of June; on the 10th of that month he reached Antwerp, accompanied by Mr. Edmund Hay, a Scotch priest, whose acquaintance he had lately made, and who offered to proceed with him to Scotland. De Gouda and Hay were fortunate in finding a Scottish vessel on the point of sailing from Antwerp, and embarked at once. The suspicions of the crew were aroused by the appearance of the strangers, but in the hurry of departure they escaped question. Before the voyage was over, however, the Protestants on board, whose suspicions increased, questioned Mr. Hay about his companion, but he managed to satisfy them without betraying De Gouda, and the Nuncio escaped discovery. On reaching the Scottish port, Mr. Hay took the Nuncio to the house of a relative of his own, where they had the good fortune to meet one of the Queen's servants, 'Mr. Stephen,'* who informed Her Majesty of their arrival, and enquired of her when she would receive De Gouda. It was a month before the Queen was able to send a definite answer. Meanwhile De Gouda wrote often to Her Majesty, and finally sent Mr. Hay to her to ask for an audience. The

* Stephen Wilson,

Queen, as we have seen, decided to receive the Nuncio in private, and could not, owing to the prejudices of the Reforming party, allow the Pope's letter to be read, or any message to be delivered publicly before the officers of State. News of the arrival of a Papal Nuncio had meanwhile been rumoured throughout the country, causing horror and alarm among the Protestants. John Knox in his sermons stormed against the Pope, denouncing De Gouda, and urging the nobles and people to take violent measures not only against him, but against the Queen herself for admitting him into her kingdom. De Gouda and Hay were in danger of their lives, and had to remain for a time concealed in the house of Mr. Hay's parents. Here a curious inaccuracy of dates occurs in De Gouda's letter. He speaks of leaving Antwerp on June 10th, of reaching Scotland in nine days, and of spending *two months* concealed in the Hays' house before he visited the Queen, yet, as we shall see, the date assigned for this interview is July 24th. Either De Gouda's memory must have misled him, or some mistake has arisen in the translation of the letter. When at last De Gouda and Hay were summoned to the Queen, they were escorted—not without danger—to Edinburgh, to the house of Her Majesty's Almoner. The Queen, apprised of their arrival, appointed the following day, July 24th, for the audience.

We will give De Gouda's own account of this interview :—

'We were ushered along with the Almoner into a private room, at an hour when the courtiers were attending the great preacher's sermon, and could not, therefore, know of our interview. I was admitted first, by myself, and having respectfully saluted the Queen, in the name of the Pope, briefly stated the object of my mission, and delivered his Holiness's letter. She said she understood my Latin but could not well reply in that language. I asked if I might call in my colleague Mr. John Rinaldus, who was a Frenchman, and Mr. Hay, a Scot, who were outside, and who would interpret faithfully. She agreed, and they came in, when the Queen turned at once to Mr. Hay, as a subject of her own, whom she had met before, and spoke in the Scottish language. She began by excusing herself for receiving the Pope's Nuncio with so little ceremony, which she said was owing to the disturbed state of the kingdom. Having read the Apostolic Brief, she hoped the Supreme Pontiff would have regard to her ready will, rather than to anything she had actually done since her return, and much wished that his Holiness could have seen the condition in which

she found her kingdom. She herself, and the other adherents of the orthodox Religion had been obliged to do many things which they did not like, in order to preserve the last traces of the Catholic faith and worship in the country. The Pope exhorted her in defending the faith to follow the example of Queen Mary of England, now departed in Christ ; but her position and that of her kingdom, and of the nobility, was unhappily very different from that of the English Queen. To the request that Scottish prelates should be sent to the Council of Trent, her reply was that she would consult the bishops as to the means of accomplishing this, but greatly feared it would be found impracticable. For herself, she would rather forfeit her life than abandon her faith. Such was the substance of her reply to my message, and to the Pope's Brief, and there was no time to add more for fear the courtiers should come back from the sermon. I then asked what I should do with the letters of the Pope addressed to the bishops and how these could be delivered. Would she send for the bishops and give the letters to them herself, or should I convey them ? She said it was out of the question my delivering them, adding, after a moment, that the attempt would cause a great tumult, and the heretics would stop at no violence in order to prevent it. I said my orders were to deliver them, but she again replied that it was impossible except perhaps in the case of one bishop. She alluded to the Bishop of Ross, the President of the Council, or of the Parliament, who was then in town, and to whom she sent her secretary the same day, requesting him to see me ; but all this may be more conveniently related further on. I then asked her whether she would like me to speak to her brother, the Earl of Mar (who was a natural son of the late king, and the first man in Scotland,) and to explain the object of my embassy lest he should suspect me of any designs against himself or any of the great nobles. She said she would enquire whether he would see me, but I heard no more of it, and learnt afterwards that it would never have done for me to have gone near him, since everyone is so prejudiced and embittered against the Pontiff. I then asked her for a safe conduct, or security of some sort, while I remained in the kingdom, but was assured by her that no one would attack me publicly. Were I in danger of being privately murdered, she could not prevent it, and did not suppose she could punish it by a legal sentence, but I should be in greater peril than ever if she gave me a safe conduct, because this would indicate under what character I had come, whereas I was safe in my present concealment. She warned me to keep my room, and never to venture out. In concluding our interview I remarked that I had been anxious to consult her, had time allowed, on the best means of succouring her people so miserably led astray by heretics ; but as it did not permit (for it was necessary she should dismiss us before the return of her brother and the other heretics from the church), I would only say that the best thing to do, was what had been done by the Emperor and most of the Catholic princes, including her uncle, the most Reverend Cardinal of Lorraine,

namely, to establish a college where she could always have pious and learned priests at hand, and where the young men, on whom the hopes of the country depended, could be trained in the Catholic religion. She replied, in one word that this might come in time, but was impracticable just then, and immediately dismissed us.' (Pp. 66-68.)

In a letter of Randolph to Cecil, dated August 1, which seems to have escaped Father Forbes-Leith's notice, we find some curious contemporary evidence regarding the Nuncio's interview with the Queen. Randolph tells us that while De Gouda was still in conversation with Her Majesty, Mar returned unexpectedly from the sermon, and entering the room suddenly, almost discovered the Nuncio. Although De Gouda escaped Mar's observation on this occasion, suspicions of his presence in the Palace were aroused, and Randolph himself saw 'so strange a visage' that he could not but think he had had a glimpse of the stranger. Randolph also declares that it was only through Mar's influence that the Nuncio was not murdered before he could have access to the Queen, and expresses with characteristic frankness, his fear lest Mar should have occasion hereafter to repent of this act of mercy.

These reflections of the English Ambassador, and still more, the Queen's own words to De Gouda, help us vividly to realize the difficulties in which Mary was placed. Forced to receive the Pope's messenger in secret, and unable to take those ordinary measures for his safety, which would have secured him from the fury of the populace, the liberty sought for by the lowest of her subjects, was denied to their Queen, and she was daily and hourly made aware of the hatred felt by her people for that faith for which she was ready to give her life.

At the Queen's desire, De Gouda, after his audience, sent her the Apostolic Letters addressed to the Bishops to whom she undertook to deliver them, as it was judged impossible for him to do this in person. Mary, as we have seen, desired that the Bishop of Ross should confer with the Nuncio, but the Bishop, a timid man, told Her Majesty he could not venture to do so. His message to the Nuncio was still more emphatic, he assured De Gouda that at whatever place, or in whatever dress he should visit him, his visit would cause the sacking and plundering

of his (the Bishop's) house within twenty-four hours, and endanger his life and that of his household. De Gouda then endeavoured to open a correspondence with the Bishop, begging him either to write to him or to the Pope himself, but the Bishop was convinced that the Nuncio's papers would be discovered and seized before he could leave the country, and could not be persuaded to write.

De Gouda's hopes of effecting an interview with the Bishop of Dunblane were likewise disappointed; hearing that this Prelate had left Edinburgh to return to his episcopal city, the Nuncio followed him thither disguised as one of his household, but when he arrived the Bishop dared not see him. His attempts to enter into correspondence with the other Bishops were crowned with little success. Two prelates alone replied to his letters, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Dunkeld.* The latter consented to see De Gouda, but only provided he should go disguised as a banker's clerk, and discuss money matters while in hearing of the Bishop's servants, to divert suspicion. This cold and timid behaviour on the part of the Scottish Bishops was a grief and disappointment to the Nuncio, and his heart was wrung by the condition of the Church throughout Scotland. At this period the Monasteries were already all in ruins, and the Churches and Altars overthrown and profaned. The ministers, who were either apostate monks or ignorant laymen of the lowest class, confined their ministrations to declamations against the Pope and the teaching of the Catholic Church. Some Catholic preachers still remained, but they were few in number; nor were they possessed of those qualifications necessary to cope with the difficulties of the times; and of the few members of religious houses still remaining in the country many had no fixed place of residence, and they and the small number of secular priests were often forced to adopt the dress of laymen. After dwelling on the desolation he had witnessed, the Nuncio thus refers to some of

* In a subsequent letter, Father De Gouda mentions that he had afterwards received a letter from the Bishop of Aberdeen also, showing his good disposition towards the faith.

those causes which had undoubtedly led to this terrible state of things.

‘I must first indicate in brief to what the best and most sensible of the Catholics attribute all these misfortunes. They consider them as owing to the suspension of the ordinary mode of election to Abbacies and other high dignities. These preferments are conferred upon children, or other incapable persons, without any care for God’s honour and the service of the Church, and very often one such person holds several offices in the same Church. For instance, a son of one of the Bishops has been appointed to the Arch-deaconry and two Canonries in his father’s cathedral. Besides which, the lives of priests and clerics are not unfrequently such as to cause grave scandal; an evil increased by the supine indifference and negligence of the Bishops themselves. Though we can hardly wonder at this, as they are so miserably oppressed that they cannot venture to discharge their duty, however much they may desire it, on account of the fury or audacity of the heretics. I will not describe the way in which these Prelates live, the example they set, or the sort of men they nominate as their successors: only, it is hardly surprising if God’s flock is eaten up by wolves, while such shepherds as these have charge of it.’ (p. 76.)

The Nuncio proceeds to suggest to Father Laynez the measures which appeared most necessary to ensure the well-being of the Queen and the restoration of religion in Scotland; measures which—had the evils of the times and the bitterness of the enemies of the Church not conspired to render them impossible of execution—would have supplied Scotland with holy and learned priests and pastors, and confirmed the people in the faith to which so large a number still secretly adhered. The Nuncio concludes his very interesting letter with a short account of the dangers which beset his departure from this country. Owing to the zeal and energy of Mr. Hay, and another friend, Mr. Crichton, De Gouda escaped these perils, and disguised in sailor’s dress, got safely on board a vessel bound for Holland.

We must now turn to another paper, which, although also dealing with Queen Mary’s reign, refers to very different matters from those described in the Nuncio’s letter. The fragment of Bishop Leslie’s History, now published for the first time, and which we regard as one of the most interesting of the documents contained in Father Forbes-Leith’s book, deals with the period between the years 1562 and 1571. Commencing with the description of Queen Mary’s expedition to the North,

and the disgrace and death of Huntly, the narrative leads us to the moment when Lennox met with his violent death at Stirling, and here unfortunately the MS. abruptly closes. The portion of this history which appears to us to deserve especial attention is that which refers to the downfall of Huntly and his family, and the share taken by Moray in procuring their disgrace. It will be remembered that Leslie was one of those commissioned by Huntly and the Gordons to represent them in the Embassy sent to Queen Mary in her widowhood, previous to her return to Scotland, and owing to his intimacy with the family and his knowledge of the events recorded, his testimony regarding the causes which led to their ruin is of peculiar value.

To understand the position of affairs at the time when Bishop Leslie's narrative opens, it will be necessary to remember that when Queen Mary reached Aberdeen in the autumn of 1562, Lord John Gordon, second son of Lord Huntly, who had been imprisoned for wounding Lord Ogilvie in the streets of Edinburgh, had lately escaped from his prison and joined his father in the North. This affray in which Gordon had taken part was favourable to the designs which Moray undoubtedly cherished against his family. Hatred of Huntly's faith and a dread of his power in the North were not the only reasons which prompted Moray to seek Huntly's disgrace. The Queen had but lately, on the occasion of her brother's marriage, given him an inchoate grant of the Earldom of Moray and of the lands of Abernethy, but the lands belonging to the title were in Huntly's possession, and he refused to part with them. Moray determined to secure them, and to effect his purpose Huntly's ruin must be compassed. In order to further his project, Moray advised the Queen to make an expedition to the North, suggesting that he might receive his Earldom from Huntly in her Majesty's presence; and on hearing of Lord John Gordon's escape, he ordered him by public proclamation to appear for his trial before the Queen, at Aberdeen, on Sept. 3. Lord Huntly accompanied his son thither on the day fixed, and Lord John submitted himself to the Queen's good pleasure. She, by Moray's advice, ordered him to be shut up in Stirling Castle; but Lord John, warned by his friends that he would be in great danger if he suffered himself to be again im-

prisoned, thought fit to disobey the Queen's commands, and, together with some young companions, determined to be avenged on Moray. Assembling an armed force, they attacked Moray at Inverness, whither he had gone with the Queen, and would have taken his life, had not Moray had warning of the attempt and protected himself by doubling the guard.

An ambushade was also prepared for Moray by the Gordons at Strathspey, but the Queen, hearing tidings of this, summoned the chiefs of the neighbouring clans, and, assembling a powerful force, she and Moray returned by another route to Aberdeen.

'While the Queen thus remained at Aberdeen, messengers were sent out to call upon all men of noble birth in Fife, Loudoun, Mearns, and other districts in the vicinity, to protect her Majesty, or rather Moray, from the attempts of Huntly. The Earl was then summoned to defend his cause before the Council at Aberdeen; but he sent Master Thomas Keir, his secretary, to make his excuses to her Majesty and the Council for not appearing in Court, on the ground that he could not do so in safety, the whole proceedings being carried on according to Moray's directions and in his interest. Lest, however, he should seem to be avoiding his trial through consciousness of guilt, he offered to surrender himself prisoner at Edinburgh, Stirling, or any other fortified place, on condition that no capital sentence should be pronounced against him except with the consent of the whole nobility of Scotland. Moray prevented this message being carried to the Queen, threw the messenger into prison, and compelled him by threat of torture to give evidence against his master and his master's children; he also took from him the Great Seal, which Huntly, who was the Chancellor of Scotland, had entrusted to him.' (Pp. 86-7.)

On hearing of the fate that had befallen his first messenger, Huntly sent a second to the Queen, bearing the same message, and Moray again used violence to extort evidence from this man against the Earl and his sons. Meantime the Prior of Coldingham—another natural brother of the Queen—accompanied by a small force, left Aberdeen by night and hastened to the Castle of Strathbogie, twenty-four miles distant, hoping to make prisoners of Huntly and his sons; but they, having warning of the expedition, made their escape to the mountains. Coldingham made his way into the castle at the head of his men, and was received by Lady Huntly with outward marks of hospitality and friendship. She was a clever, spirited woman, and took this opportunity of strongly asserting, before Colding-

ham and the other noblemen, her husband's innocence and his loyalty towards the Queen, and earnestly begged them to advocate his cause with her Majesty; but we do not learn whether they complied with her request.

This was not the only occasion upon which Lady Huntly bore witness to her husband's loyalty to his sovereign. In one of Randolph's letters written at this period, we find the following anecdote. A certain Captain Hay was sent to Strathbogie, bearing a message from the Queen to Huntly; while he was in the Castle, Lady Huntly took the messenger aside, and leading him to the chapel, there solemnly asserted her husband's innocence of the crimes alleged against him, in these words:—

'Good friend, you see here the envy that is borne unto my husband. Could he have forsaken God and his religion, as those who are now about the Queen's grace—and have the whole guiding of her—have done, my husband had never been put at as now he is. God,' saith she, 'and He that is upon this holy altar, Whom I believe in, will, I am sure, save us, and let our true-meaning hearts be known; and as I have said unto you, so, I pray you, let it be said unto your mistress. My husband was ever obedient unto her, and so will die her faithful subject.'

This message was reported to Mary, but Huntly's enemies had so far prejudiced her mind against him that she refused to believe in it.

Soon after Coldingham's expedition to Strathbogie, Huntly sent his daughter-in-law, Lady Gordon, to the Queen with the same message he had before endeavoured to send her, but when she was two miles from Aberdeen, she met a royal messenger, bidding her return at once to her own Castle. This order was really sent by Moray, for the Queen had greatly desired to see Lady Gordon; but Moray was aware that should his sister discover the truth regarding Huntly's innocence and his own plots, she would in all probability take Huntly into favour, and place but little trust in himself for the future. Meanwhile Huntly, convinced that no castle walls could protect him from his enemies, gathered together a force of twelve hundred men from among his clansmen and followers, and occupied the neighbouring hills. On hearing this, Moray collected some troops, and marched against him. When in sight of Huntly's force,

Moray sent a herald to summon the men to lay down their arms, promising that if they did so, all might depart in safety, except Huntly and his sons and some of his friends. A good many of Huntly's followers took advantage of this message to forsake his cause. Seeing that he was deserted by these men, and perceiving that the enemy were beginning to surround him, thus rendering escape impossible, Huntly determined to give battle. Before giving the signal for assault, he thus addressed his companions:—

'If we were about to fight on equal terms,' he said, 'or if we had the alternative of either fighting or retiring, and chose to engage in battle without the necessity which now compels us, I should exhort you to acquit yourselves well in the field. As it is, we are surrounded by an enemy who is advancing upon us, so that our only hope lies in displaying courage and fortitude; it needs not that I say more. To yield, would be disgraceful, and death against the odds opposed to you were most glorious. When I look round and see you all so full of strength and courage, many words are uncalled for. Meet boldly the enemy's attack, and doubt not God will give us strength. It is His cause, and the cause of justice, which we defend against the oppressor of our country and of the True Faith. We are few, but God can preserve the lives of His servants whether they be many or few. I hope some of those who now appear in arms against us will prove our friends. But should they all continue to oppose us, we have one friend a match for all—the justice of the cause for which we fight and are ready to die, and if this suffers defeat, nothing will be left worth living for.' (P. 89.)

These words, in which we may see the true sentiments which animated Huntly in his opposition to Moray's tyranny, encouraged his soldiers, and they stood the first attack with great spirit, driving back the enemy, and putting many to flight. But the men of Fife, and the light cavalry under Coldingham, charging on the left wing, with the Musketeers on the right, Huntly's men were, after severe fighting, overcome by the numbers of the foe, and the few who survived turned and fled. Huntly was made prisoner and put to death on the field by Moray's order, a firelock, it is said, being discharged close into his ear. His son, the Laird of Findlater, and many others, were made prisoners and conveyed to Aberdeen. About 140 noblemen, many of them relatives of Huntly, fell in this battle. The Queen had specially charged Moray to spare Huntly's life, and received the tidings of his death with tears; her grief in-

creased when Moray condemned the Laird of Findlater to share his father's fate, and we realise how little authority Mary was permitted to exercise, by the fact that she was unable to prevent the sentence from being carried out. Many of Huntly's servants and followers were hanged, and Moray remained in the undisputed possession of absolute power, a position in which he could safely crush the most powerful among the other nobles, against the Queen's wishes, and often without her knowledge.

In the following year, 1563, Huntly's heirs were deprived of their inheritance, and the whole family of Gordon branded as traitors. Regarding the fate of Huntly's eldest son, Lord George Gordon, the following story is told. Sentence of death had been pronounced against him also when Parliament met, but the Queen made such earnest solicitations in his favour that his life was spared. He was, however, imprisoned for several years, and on one occasion his life was in imminent danger. Moray, knowing that the Queen entertained a kindly feeling for him, and fearing she might liberate him—a step likely to be highly injurious to Moray's own schemes—sent a letter stamped with the Queen's seal to the keeper of the castle where Lord George was imprisoned, desiring him to execute his prisoner without delay, yet assigning no reason for this command. The keeper, a prudent and kind-hearted man, while informing Lord George of the order he had received, yet thought well to make inquiries before carrying it into effect. At his own risk, therefore, he visited the Queen, praying her Majesty to pardon him for delaying to execute her command. Mary was much surprised at hearing him refer to an order she had never sent, and on being shown the paper at once perceived the fraud. To secure Lord George against any further attempt, she ordered him to be set at liberty.

Although we have confined our attention to two only of the papers contained in the volume we are considering, there are others of almost equal interest which we regret we are unable to notice. In particular, we commend to our readers the letter of Father John Hay, describing his expedition to Scotland in 1579. The dangers incurred by Father Hay on his return to his native land, and his account of the state of Scotland at that time, render

this letter peculiarly interesting. In concluding this imperfect notice of Father Forbes-Leith's book, we cordially recommend it to our countrymen as a very valuable addition to our knowledge of one of the most interesting periods of Scottish history.

ART. V.—RECORDS OF ARGYLL.

Records of Argyll: Legends, Traditions, and Recollections of Argyllshire Highlanders, collected chiefly from the Gaelic.
By Lord ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL. Edinburgh and London, 1885.

FROM an antiquarian and historical, or even from an ethnological and sociological point of view, there are few Scottish counties more deserving attention, or better worth studying, than the wild and picturesque county of Argyll. Its islands, promontories, and glens are studded with the ruined monuments of the past, and it is everywhere rich in historical associations and in traditions and legendary lore. It was on its shores that the first of those Irish immigrants landed who, after centuries of strife and bloodshed, and notwithstanding many severe reverses, succeeded at last in suppressing the ancient Pictish kingdom, and in uniting the Highlands and the Lowlands under one rule and giving to the country the name which it now bears, derived from their own. On the rocky islands, which Nature seems to have thrown up in order to protect its western shores from the fierce storms of the Atlantic, were founded those humble seminaries of religion and learning from which the light of Christianity and the blessings of Christian civilisation were first carried to the tribes living to the north of the Grampians, and, if we may believe tradition, to the inhabitants of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and even to the Norsemen of Iceland. For a long series of centuries, the Highlanders of Argyllshire lived almost alone, disturbed only by the neighbouring clans, and rarely troubled by visitors from the south. Down to a comparatively recent period many parts of their county were inaccessible except by sea, and

many others were for a great part of the year practically cut off from the rest of the empire. The single line of railway by which the county is now penetrated, is but a thing of yesterday; and notwithstanding the crowds of tourists who every year flock to its mountains and lochs, and the presence of political agitators, its inhabitants can scarcely be said even now to be in more than occasional contact with the stream of the world's thought, or to be more than barely sensible of the pressure and movements of modern civilisation.

During recent years much has been done to direct attention to the county, and attempts have been made to unearth and interpret its monumental remains. While the 'Rhind Lectures' have given an impetus to antiquarian studies all over the country, several works have of late been published directing attention to the antiquities of Argyllshire in particular. The late Dr. Angus Smith has told the story of the Sons of Uisnach, and interwoven with his narrative many of the latest results of his Gaelic studies. The late Mr. J. S. Muir, a valuable collection of whose writings we notice on another page, has noted and described many of the ecclesiological and other remains of Argyllshire which had previously been unnoticed. The researches of Irish scholars and of the accomplished historian of Ancient Alban have disentangled the history of its early inhabitants from the fictitious narratives of monkish and other primitive authors, and divested it of the assumptions imported into it by later writers. And to mention no others, there are the *Archæological Sketches* of Captain White, and last but not least the labours of the late and still vividly remembered J. F. Campbell, of Islay, whose four volumes of *Tales of the West Highlands*, collected, like the *Kinder-und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm, from the mouths of the people, have proved that the county is almost marvellously rich in folklore and in traditions and legends of a peculiar and extremely interesting kind. But notwithstanding all that has been done, much more remains to be done. Both to the antiquary and to the student of folklore the county may be said to still offer an almost virgin field of research. Its mounds and forts and ecclesiastical and other remains have not yet been adequately described, and there is much work of a different kind which, if it is to be

done at all, must be done soon. That of the antiquary may go on slowly and unhastily; but the work of the collector of traditions and folklore requires to be done quickly and at once. The notes of warning sounded by Iain Campbell are repeated by his kinsman. The survivors of those among whom story-telling was a pastime and almost a profession are rapidly dying out, and carrying with them all that remains of the unwritten treasures of tradition and imagination which they received from the past.

In the remarkably sumptuous volume before us Lord Archibald Campbell has aspired simply to follow in the footsteps of his lamented kinsman of Islay, to whose memory the volume is appropriately and affectionately dedicated. Readers of Celtic literature and history have heard often enough of Nemhidh and Miledh, the Firbolg, Fir Domhnan, Tuath De Danaan, the Sons of Uisnach, and other similar chiefs and septs more or less real or fictitious, who lived, or are supposed to have lived, somewhere about the beginning of Celtic history; but with these Lord Archibald Campbell seems rarely, if ever, to concern himself; and in the present volume has very little to say about them. His records belong to more recent periods, and are for the most part traditions, and, to some extent, trustworthy narratives of men about whose actual existence there can be little or no reasonable doubt. Some of his pages contain little more than genealogical tables, but the bulk of his volume consists, as we are told in the preface, of tales written down for the most part from the recitation of their possessors, and rendered as closely to the original Gaelic as the difference between the two languages permits. Many of the stories appear in an English form for the first time; others are given as affording a different version of tales already translated; and a few are included which have appeared elsewhere. Towards the end of the volume the author has inserted a somewhat voluminous yet interesting series of 'Notes' on the dress of the Highlanders, in which he has demonstrated the high antiquity of the tartan and kilt, and completely dissipated the fable of the latter being the invention of one of General Wade's soldiers. In passing we may remark that the kilt seems to us to be of a much higher antiquity than even Lord Archibald Campbell seems to believe. Unless we are mistaken it was the

common dress of the Highlanders, and of many of the Irish, as far back as the date when some of the oldest of the Eddic poems were composed. In the lay bearing his name, Hoarbeard replies to Thor, 'It looks like thy having three estates; there thou art, bare-legged, in a beggar's gaberdine; not even thy breeches on.' And if Mr. Vigfusson's conjecture be correct that 'a western poet speaks here who had seen the breechless Irish and Scots,'* there can be little doubt that the kilt, or at least some species of garment very like a kilt, was the common dress of the Highlanders as early as the time when the Western Isles were still under the dominion of the Norsemen.

But to return to the stories which occupy the larger part of Lord Archibald's volume. Their chief value is in the illustrations they afford of the customs and ways of thinking of the Highlanders of Argyllshire during the last two or three centuries. They are valuable also as furnishing a fairly accurate idea of the times to which they belong. Professor Blackie and others are fond of referring to the 'good old times' in the Highlands. But, however evil the times may be to the Highlanders of Argyllshire in the present, we must candidly own that in the volume before us we can find no proof that they have ever lived in any that were really better, or even as good. Many of the stories related are narratives of battle and murder, theft, cruelty, and revenge, and afford pretty clear evidence that the period to which they refer was by no means an age of gold. Those who read them with the expectation of discovering that the crofter and cottar once lived in Edenic plenty and felicity will be grievously disappointed. A sort of rough-handed liberality seems to have prevailed, and every man seems to have helped himself, when he could, to whatever he wanted, whether it was his own or his neighbour's; but there seems also to have been an entire absence of security and of anything like well ordered government. That, indeed, which a perusal of the stories most clearly impresses upon the mind of the reader is, that among the Highlanders of Argyllshire, down to the middle of the last century, life and property, whether of the chieftain or his followers, were extremely insecure. Judging by the evidence

* *Corpus Poet, Bor., I., p. 118, 488.*

they afford, might was right; and the only gleam of light which one sees breaking athwart the moral and intellectual darkness, and making it all the more visible, is the utter unselfishness with which the clansmen devoted themselves to the service of their respective chiefs.

But if modern professors of social economics find little in Lord Archibald Campbell's volume to support them in some of their opinions respecting the past condition of the crofter and cottar, there is much that will at least interest them in what he relates, or rather in what his stories indicate, respecting the manner in which many of the proprietors acquired some of their property. Here and there we obtain glimpses of how certain of the larger estates were built up. As for the smaller ones, some of them seem to have been tossed from one owner to another with singular ease; astuteness and fear sometimes, and the force of arms generally, determining their owner. The following traditions, supplied to Lord Archibald Campbell by Miss Isabella Smith, are suggestive.

'The rival chiefs of the Mac Vicars, Munroes, and Mac Arthurs had constant disputes about their lands. The Mac Naughtons were gradually beaten back, until somewhere in the fifteenth century, their representative was a girl of eighteen years of age, with no nearer relation than a second cousin to support either her or her claims. She lived in the Mac Naughtain Castle, on the promontory on the Dùloch, Glenshera, at the spot where at low tide the river Garron begins its short course to the sea.

'While this lady lay dying of the plague, a proclamation was made by the King concerning the chieftainship, or the seigniority of lands in Scotland. Argyll set out on horseback for Holyrood, "never drawing bridle till he got to the Palace," to put in his claim for the suzerainty of Glenshera and Loch Fyne.

'These are amongst the first charter-lands in Argyllshire; and when a child, I used to hear them spoken of by many of the servants (who used to hold a conclave in the nursery) with contempt as "parchment lands," to which the Argylls had no right.

'Stronmagachain, on which the first Argyll residence was built, was only held in fee from the Mac Naughtons—that is, the lower part—the rest was the property of the Mac Vicars and Munroes. After the death of the heiress, and when Argyll had been for some time in safe possession of the houses and various lordships, one of the Munroes murdered a Mac Vicar. Both families came to Argyll—one to claim redress, the other protection. Both were given to understand that if they gave up their lands they would

get what they wanted. When they came to the Court the Earl dismissed the Assembly, having as his share Stronmagachain, Drimfern, Srongharbh—that is, the upper part, not the lower—which was part of the Church lands, and extended to the dike above the “Beauchamp” Gate. . . The Clark and various baronies in the lower end of the parish—five, I believe, in number—fell one after another in the same way.

‘Carnus, Tighnafead, and the Tullichs fell in somewhat this fashion : The M’Eachs, or Children of the Mist, or M’Aulays, held Carnus, and all the land on the east of Glenaray, from the source of the river to the waterfall Linne Ghlutain, having on the opposite side a motley group of Munroes, Mac Vicars, Mac Arthurs, and M’Corkendales. The children on both sides of the glen used to meet in play. One day a quarrel ensued, in which one of the M’Eachs was severely beaten. His mother took up her son’s quarrel, and arrangements for a fight were made between these factions—both parties endeavouring to obtain the assistance of their powerful neighbours, Lochow and Mac Naughton, who, however, stood neutral (at the same time privately fomenting the quarrel). The rival parties met at Drochaid-an-roth-bhuidhe, i.e., the ridge which separates Inverary from Inishail.

‘They fought desperately and long, and, as in the case of the battle of Sheriffmuir, without either side being able to claim the victory. It was submitted to the arbitration of Lochow and Mac Naughton, who agreed together that, as Tullich, Carnus, etc., were so far removed from Glenshera and Loch Fyne, Lochow should take the upper part of Glenaray for his share, surrendering in return some lands in the parish of Kilmorich, to which he, Lochow, had some claim, to Mac Naughton.’ (Pp. 69-71.)

Here is the story of another estate :—

‘Torr-an-tuire is partly an arable but chiefly a grazing hill-farm, and is situated at the north-east corner of Lochnell. This farm gave its name to a property which comprised several farms—viz., Torr-an-tuire, Cabrachan, Kilmore, Dailnacàbaig, Kille-choinnich, Srontoilair, and Baile-ghobhainn—all lying around Lochnell. This property belonged at one time to a family of Mac Dongalls, who were called the Mac Dougalls of Torr-an-tuire. The last of them was an unmarried man who had no heirs, or at least none to whom he was inclined to bequeath his property. When he was well advanced in years it occurred to him that it was proper for him to settle it on some one. From a feeling of friendship to the Dunollie family, and of loyalty to his clan, he resolved to make it over to the laird of Dunollie’s second son. He went on a certain day to Dunollie Castle with this object in view, taking with him the title-deeds. On entering the hall he unbuckled his sword and left it there. When he was shown into the room where his chief was, he informed him of the business on which he had come, and handed to him the title-deeds of Torr-an-tuire. While these two worthies were together settling affairs, some of the idlers (there were

generally plenty of such about the mansions of Highland families in the olden time) about the castle bethought them of playing a practical joke on the old laird of Torr-an-tuirc. Taking the sword out of its scabbard, they poured water into the scabbard and placed it against the wall, with the sword beside it. When the laird of Torr-an-tuirc came down to the hall and put the sword back into the scabbard, the water squirted on his hands. Resenting at once what he regarded as an indignity, he returned to the room where the chief was and demanded back the title-deeds, alleging that a clause had been omitted which would require to be supplied. They were given back to him at once. He no sooner received them than he took his departure, mounted his horse, and rode to Inverary, where he made over the property to the Earl of Argyll's second son. This was John Gorm, the first of the Campbells of Lochnell, with whom the property has continued ever since.' (Pp. 109-110.)

The authenticity of the following is, on what appear to be good grounds, denied, but we give it as illustrating what was sometimes done.

'There once dwelt in Abbot's Island, in Loch Etive, a laird of Lochnell, who had a servant called Malcolm of the Axe. On a certain occasion the laird ordered Malcolm to kill a cow for the use of the house. It so happened that there was not on the farm at the time a cow fit for killing. Malcolm being aware that Livingston of Achanacree had good fat cows, he stole one of them and killed it. When the cow was missed, proclamation was made of the theft in the church of Ardchattan, and a reward was offered to any one who would make known who the thief was. The laird of Lochnell happening to be in church on that day, he was asked on his return home what news he brought from church. He told about the proclamation, and the reward offered for the discovery of the thief. When this came to Malcolm's ears he went to the laird and asked him what the amount of the reward was. On being informed, he confessed that it was he that stole the cow. The laird then said to him: "You wretch! you will be hanged, as sure as you live." "It was for yourself," replied Malcolm, "that I stole the cow, for you have not a cow worth killing. It is in the house salted, and you must make the best excuse for me that you can." The laird of Lochnell took an early opportunity of crossing to Achanacree, and of telling Livingston the truth about the theft of the cow. Livingston at once condoned the offence, and said that there would be no more about it. Lochnell, who coveted Livingston's land, took a note of the conversation that passed between them, and of the reward offered for the discovery of the thief. After the lapse of what must have been a good many years, Lochnell, in looking over his note-book, noticed that the reward was not paid to him for making known who the thief was. Having prepared an account, which, with principal and interest, amounted to a considerable sum of money, he presented it to Livingston for payment.

Livingston, not being able to satisfy this demand, sold Achanacree to the laird of Lochnell.' (Pp. 116-17.)

The Livingstons seem to have been particularly unfortunate. A story is told of three sons of one of their chiefs going out to hunt deer in Dailaneas, and meeting a Mac Donald out for the same purpose on the same lands, but with this difference, that he was trespassing. The Livingstons at once gave chase to him; but finding that he was likely to outstrip them, one of them bent his bow and shot the fugitive in the heel. Plucking the arrow out of his wound, the Mac Donald fled on, till he came to the declivity leading down Achatriochadain, when the sons of the laird of Achatriochadain, seeing the plight in which their clansman was, hid themselves till the Livingstons had passed, and then, closing in behind them, cut off their retreat, and took them prisoners. Their liberty was obtained only by the surrender to the Mac Donalds of the charters of Dailaneas. The Mac Dougalls, again, are said to have lost Ardmaddy through a bigamous marriage. One of them, says the tradition, married a relative of the Argylls, but, living unhappily with her, he deserted her, and soon after married a sister or daughter of Campbell of Ardnamurchan. The cause of the first wife was taken up by her friends the Argylls. To make peace Mac Dougall promised her a large annuity, but neglected to pay it. The consequence was that, when he was lying a corpse in Ardmaddy, the Argylls seized the castle and lands as security for the arrears, and the Mac Dougalls being unable to satisfy their demands, the estate was taken from them. In 1692, it is said to have been sold, along with the lands of Raray, by the Argylls to the Breadalbanes for the sum of £20,000, the Argylls guaranteeing the purchasers against any claims or loss on account of the absence of title-deeds. These, it seems, were still in existence, though unknown to, or at least not in the possession of, the Argylls. The story is that a blacksmith of the name of Brown, having learned that the Argylls were on their way to seize Ardmaddy, took a shorter path to the same place, secured the box containing the family charters, and threw it out at a back window of the castle, whence it was conveyed by a woman to

Torsa, an island in the neighbourhood, then in the possession of a relative of the Mac Dougalls of Raray. (P. 157.)

Several of the characters mentioned in the *Records* are curious and remarkable. The best known of them is Rob Roy, of whom and his men several stories are told, most of them referring to the period of his withdrawal to Glen-shera in consequence of the sentence of outlawry procured against him by Montrose. To Montrose's complaint respecting the refuge afforded Rob Roy in Argyllshire, Argyll is reported to have written the somewhat tart reply: 'You feed him; but all he gets from me is a cave and water.' The reply, it would appear, was perfectly true, Rob Roy confining his cattle-lifting expeditions chiefly to Montrose's territory, and obtaining from Argyll naught but water and such shelter as he could find. One of the Mac Lachlans of Kilbride, of whom Lord Archibald Campbell records several traditions, bore a strong resemblance to the notorious Mac Gregor, and might easily have been mistaken for him. Of large stature, immense strength, great coolness, and consummate impudence, like Rob Roy, he was also fertile in device, and, though professedly following the calling of a cattle-dealer, seems to have been as ready to 'lift' cattle as to buy them. On one occasion he is said to have purchased a number from the farmers of Kilmartin and Kilmichael, and to have taken them away unpaid for, but on the understanding that he would call on his return from Carlisle and pay the price he had agreed to give. At Carlisle he was obliged to sell for less than he had promised to pay; and on his return, instead of handing the farmers the price agreed upon, paid them according to the price he had received. The farmers were by no means pleased, but on the principle that something is better than nothing took the money, and agreed to make no further claim. The innkeeper at Kilmartin, however, after brooding over the matter, resolved, like Shylock, to have his bond, and taking with him his son-in-law, Stewart, and a runner, pursued Mac Lachlan, and overtook him in the Pass of Kintraw. A fight ensued, but Black Sandy Mac Crëagan, a kitchen-lad in Kilbride House, coming up to the assistance of Mac Lachlan, the innkeeper was wounded, and Stewart killed.

The life of the runner was spared, but, to remind him of the affair, the half of each of his ears was cut off (p. 184). One of the most eccentric characters we meet with is Colin Iongatach, that is, Wonderful or Singular Colin, also called Colin Math or Good Colin. A little before his death he is reported to have thrown all his treasures into Loch Fyne, lest after his death his sons should quarrel over them. When a party of O'Neils came to visit him from Ireland, he set fire, it is said, to all his houses in order that he might exhibit a fine field-equipage he possessed and regale his visitors in tents. Lord Archibald Campbell maintains, however, that the only place he burnt on the occasion was the unfinished Castle of Inverary, and that his reason for burning it was that 'he considered his new field-equipage more comfortable than the unfinished castle.' According to another tradition, this same Colin Iongatach assumed the garb of a beggar, and went through all the army of the Lord of the Isles for the purpose of ascertaining its strength. On one occasion he had a very narrow escape. The Mac Callums desired to secure his estate for Duncan Skeod na Seich, their foster-brother, and in order to do so laid their plans to burn Colin alive in a house where he lay at night. The house was actually set fire to, and so nearly did the Mac Callums succeed in roasting him to death, that Colin, in order to cool the coat of mail he wore, was obliged to plunge into a pool of water. The pool is near the town of Kilmartin, and still bears the name of Linne-na-lùirich, or Pool of the Coat of Mail. A similar story is told of the Earl of Argyll. He and his brother, Cross-grained Ivan, quarrelled, and, along with the Mac Callums, the latter plotted the death of the Earl. A feast was made, and the Earl was invited to it. Argyll was not without suspicions of danger, and took the precaution of going to the feast well armed, having on his helmet and coat-of-mail, and carrying his claymore. After the feast, during which all present vied with each other in simulating loyalty and devotion to him, he was shown to the best bedroom which, according to the fashion of the times and place, was nothing more than a barn. A couple of sentries were placed at the door, for the purpose, it was pretended, of attend-

ing to his comfort, but in reality to make certain that he would not escape alive. The Earl lay down in his armour, and with his sword by his side. His sleep must have been remarkably sound, for the first intimation he had that the place was on fire was conveyed to him by his coat of mail burning into his flesh. With a single blow he made the wicker-door of the barn fly open. The sentinels fled; and, having cooled his armour by plunging into a river that ran close by, he walked to the stables, mounted his horse, and rode away. It says not a little for his temper that when Ivan subsequently returned to Inveraray he was reconciled to him.

One of the most remarkable characters in the *Records* is Sir Duncan Campbell, or, as he was commonly called, Black Duncan of the Cowl. His countenance, as represented in the two excellently executed etchings given of him, can scarcely be called attractive. If not absolutely forbidding, its aspect was at least stern. He was not above trying to lay hands on a neighbour's estate; but was, nevertheless, a man of activity and not without good parts. Though constantly engaged in bloody disputes with the Mac Gregor clan, he found time to lay out the splendid avenues of lime-trees at Taymouth, to build the castle of Finlarig, the tower of Achalladour, and the house of Loch Dochart, to repair the castle of Ilan Kilchurn, and to make a great embankment against the encroachments of the river at Balloch, or Taymouth. Besides executing these and a number of other works of a similar nature, he found leisure to visit the Low Countries during the wars. He died in the year 1631, at the advanced age of eighty-five. A story similar to the following is told of others besides Black Duncan.

'Once when Black Duncan of the cowl was in the house of Buchanan of Bochastle the food that was customary at the time was put before him—milk, bread and cheese. Black Duncan liked the cheese well, and he said to Buchanan, "Where was this cheese grown (made), laird of Bochastle?" "It grew among the broom in these yellow braes and hollows," replied Bochastle. In a short time thereafter Black Duncan observed, "I should like to see your title deeds. I am sure they are good." "I have no written title deeds," rejoined Bochastle; and he went to his armoury, got a sword and target, stood before Black Duncan with these, and said, "These are the title deeds of the lands of Bochastle, and there are none

but these." "Oh, very good--very good. Lay them by--lay them by;" and the laird of Bochastle went and laid by his sword and target. There was nothing further about this for the time being' (p. 348.)

Black Duncan subsequently attempted to relieve Bochastle of his cattle; but for the story of how he was frustrated we must refer the reader to the pages of the *Records*.

In his own way, the Rev. John Cunieson, minister of Killean, was quite as remarkable as Duncan of the Black Cowl. His house is said to have had but one aperture for egress and ingress, for the smoke to escape and for the light 'to illuminate his table when Providence provided him with a dinner.' A man of great personal strength, he believed in using it for the purpose of compelling observance of the duties of religion. While living at Begvail in Strathduie a sturdy beggar obtained from him the promise of a night's lodgings.

'After family worship, a practice never forgotten in these old times, the minister observed that the sturdy beggar was going to repose without committing his soul to God, whereupon he began to remonstrate with him upon the impropriety and impiety of his conduct; but instead of manifesting gratitude for his worthy landlord's hospitality, the sturdy beggar returned his generosity with abusive language, upon which the minister's religious zeal got the better of his hospitality, and he took the man by the neck and turned him out of the hut as a wretch who neither worshipped God nor regarded man. It appeared that the sturdy beggar, though badly clothed, was a remarkably powerful fellow; and though Mr. Cunieson was also distinguished for his physical strength and vigour, yet he confessed that he never had a harder struggle than to get the better of the itinerant. At last he got him down, and clapt a knee upon his breast, and insisted upon his repeating a prayer before he would allow him to move. The man declared he never prayed in his life, and could not pray; and, mortified with his discomfiture, said that there was not a man in Scotland that could lay him upon his back but Mr. John Cunieson from Atholl, a countryman of his own. To the Bonnachbeag's great amazement, Mr. Cunieson replied—"I am the man. Before I allow you to rise you must repeat what I dictate to you. Say, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' which the Atholl Highlander faithfully repeated. He was then accommodated with a bed, and treated as well as the circumstances of the worthy clergyman would admit of; and as Mr. Cunieson was a man of warm and active benevolence, he procured a small farm for the Bonnachbeag in the house of Kintyre, and in the course of time the sturdy beggar became one of the most respectable elders of his Kirk Session; and tradition says that his descendants are still in Kintyre' (p. 215-216).

Cunieson, it seems, could preach to some purpose. When preaching in the Church of Kilchenzie and exhorting his people against the crime of theft, which in those days was reckoned a very venial fault, he exclaimed, in the course of his remarks, 'Let all thieves cast from them stolen goods.' A certain person, so runs the tradition, was in the church who seemed to relish his neighbour's mutton more than his own, and happened at the moment to have beneath his plaid a shoulder of fat wedder, which he intended to dress for dinner as soon as he returned home. Believing that the minister's words were aimed specially at himself, he took out the mutton from beneath his plaid, and solemnly declared, in presence of the congregation, that he never stole from a poor man, and only from a wealthy man who could well afford it. The following story, told among the Kintyre Tales, betrays a spirit somewhat different.

'Near Aonan an Dunain a shepherd, by name John Tait, in wandering among the rocks looking for his sheep, came across a queer bield [shelter] below a rock. On opening it, he found it contained money. There was a good lot of it, so he thought his best plan was to go to the farm and borrow a bag. He went, and when asked what he wanted with a bag, he answered simply enough that he had found some money. The man at the farm, as soon as he heard this, began to plan how he could secure the money. While in this state of mind he came across the skin of a black cow with the head and feet still on it. Off he set after Tait. As soon as he saw him stop and begin to fill his bag, he covered himself with the skin, and jumped up, roaring out in the deepest voice he could: "Leave that alone; it belongs to me." Tait turned, and when he saw the frightful apparition he concluded it was the devil. With one wild yell he fled. The frightful apparition quietly picked up the money and went his way.'

Duncan Creach deserves to be mentioned as a drover who acquired and sustained, in the opinion of all who knew him, the reputation of being perfectly honest, and as the author of one of the finest compliments ever paid to female beauty. At the beginning of the troubles of 1745, Duncan, it would seem, meditated joining the rebel forces. Campbell of Mamore, afterwards fourth Duke of Argyll, hearing of this, and failing to dissuade him, had him arrested as a suspected person and safely lodged in prison. Years after his release, Mamore, who in the

meantime had succeeded to the dukedom, sent for Duncan. On being shown into the drawing-room, where were the Duke and Duchess, the honest drover, after advancing a few paces, halted and hesitated. 'How now, have I offended you that you have not a word to bestow upon me?' said the Duke, as he led him up to the Duchess. Quickly recovering himself, and glancing at the Duchess, he replied: 'How could I see your Lordship, with this dazzling sun in my eyes?' The 'dazzling sun' was Mary, daughter of John, second Lord Bellenden, known as the Beautiful Duchess, and often spoken of by Horace Walpole.

Scattered among the traditions of cattle-lifting, revenge, and strife, and affording a pleasant relief from them, there occur in the *Records* several stories of the gentler and nobler passions. Some of them are full of pathos and beauty. Perhaps the finest is 'The Fair Maid of Callard and Campbell of Inverawe.' 'The Odd Grey Lad' is almost another version of 'The Crooked Bawbee.' One of the best is the romantic legend of 'The Lovely Caivala, the Handsome Maiden of the Glossy Hair.' In contrast with these are 'The Skerry of the Smith's Daughter,' a legend of jealousy and revenge, and the following lines from Islay:

'Ailsa Craig will come
To Glenfalloch of the white banks;
And Scotland will go beyond its bounds;
Ere I'll again believe in woman.

'All the women of the world
Would give their judgment with a lie:
Not easier is it to teach a proud woman
Than to make a rope of chaff.'

Among the most ancient of the legends is that of the race between two saints for the island of Lismore. Of this legend the *Records* contains two versions. The following is the version supplied by Miss J. Macgregor of Lismore:—

'The story is told, that St. Maluag came from Ireland in his *birlinn* [galley], a Christian missionary in search of a "field" of labour among the heathens. He was attracted by the low-lying, long, green island, and he sailed for it. Probably its aspect, so unlike the heathery hills and romantic glens of the Highlands of Scotland, reminded him of the beloved

Erin which he had left for ever, and he longed to land there and take the fold in his own care. But he became aware that another *birlinn* was also steering for the green island, and another eager saint was gazing from the prow; and as the first to touch the land in those days was by tacit agreement to enter into possession of the jurisdiction of the island, they raced for it. Mahac, the rival saint, was likely to win, and Maluag, who evidently disapproved of the doctrine of Mahac, put his finger on the edge of the boat, chopped it off, and threw it on the shore, and so he was the first to "touch the land," whereupon the disappointed Mahac began to curse the island and its belongings for evermore; but Maluag counteracted his evil wishes with blessings in reply. "The rocks with edge uppermost shall grow," said Mahac; "And their venom deep buried at their roots," responded Maluag. "The alder-tree shall be for fuel," quoth Mahac; "It will burn like tinder," said Maluag.' (P. 322.)

According to the other version the two saints were Columba and Maluag. The latter is said to have practised the same stratagem as in the version given above. But instead of the rival saints contending, Columba commended his brother's devotion, and gave both him and the island his blessing. On the spot where he first touched the land, Maluag is said to have built a church, near to the ruins of which is a well, still held sacred and supposed to possess certain healing virtues.

The traditions which Lord Archibald Campbell has succeeded in collecting in connection with prophecies, second-sight, ghosts and apparitions are fairly numerous. In the old Celtic and Scottish literature 'prophecy' was, generally speaking, a peculiar fashion of writing history. Among the Scottish 'prophets' the best known, it is almost needless to say, is Thomas the Rhymer, of whose prediction of the death of Alexander III. Bower, the continuator of the *Scotichronicon*, furnishes the most circumstantial details. In his *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Mr. Skene has given us the remarkable Prophecies of St. Berchan and the famous Latin Metrical Prophecy, which professes to have been the joint work of Gildas and Merlin. In the *Records* we have the prophecies of the Seer Niven Mac Vicar, first minister of the Reformed Church at Inveraray, who among other things predicted that he would meet his death by drowning, and notwithstanding the precautions taken both by others and himself to prevent it, managed to fulfil his prediction by acci-

dentally falling into a tub of water. Most of the stories here recorded of second-sight, that peculiar gift of the Highlanders, come from the interesting island of Tiree. The strange story of Campbell of Inverawe and his death at Ticonderoga is well known, and Miss Isabel Smith contributes to the *Records* an excellent version of it. Here, however, is one of a similar nature from Lochnell:—

‘On one occasion, when John Campbell of Ardsalignish was going to leave home, he went to the kiln where it was customary for the dead to be taken between the time of decease and of interment; and while there, while speaking to the smith of the place, who was supposed to be gifted with second sight, he was surprised to see the man’s face suddenly change, and his gaze become riveted on one corner. The smith, on being asked the cause of his extraordinary manner, said that he saw either Ardsalignish or himself lying dead in the kiln, as the body was covered by a plaid woven in an unusual manner, and of which only two had been made—one being in his possession and the other in that of Ardsalignish. To calm the man’s agitation, the latter said that he would make it impossible that this dream should come to pass, as he would leave orders that, in the event of the smith’s death, his body should not be taken to the kiln, and in his own case such a thing was obviously impossible; thus the dream could have no fulfilment. However, he forgot all about the circumstance, and left without giving the promised order,—to find, on his return, that the smith was dead, and his body lying in the kiln, wrapped in the plaid, as he had predicted’ (p. 121).

The stories of ghosts and apparitions are scarcely so numerous as might have been expected, but all that are here brought together are valuable as the records of a fast fading, but still widely spread superstition. The belief in omens is or was common to all countries. In Germany certain princes, Brand assures us, were supposed to have their peculiar presages or death tokens; such ‘as extraordinary roaring of Lions, and barking of Dogs, fearful noises and bustlings by night in Castles, striking of Clocks and tolling of Bells at undue times,’ &c. In Scotland, according to Pennant, the Rothmurchies had the ghost of the hill, and the Kincardines, the spectre of the bloody hand. Gartinbeg House, he tells us, was haunted by Bodach Gartin, and Tulloch Gorms by Maug Moulach, or the girl with the bony left hand. In certain places, he also says, the death of people was supposed to be foretold by the cries and shrieks of

the Benshi, or the fairy's wife, along the path the funeral was to take; and the belief is still common that the howling of dogs at night portends death. Among some of the Campbells the omen of evil was the apparition of the blood-hounds of the MacDougalls, of the last appearance of which Lord Archibald Campbell furnishes us with a circumstantial account (p. 167). The omen of the Dunstaffnage family was the apparition of Bodach Glas, or the Old Grey Man. According to the legend Bodach Glas was of Lowland origin, and a partner with one of the ancestors of the Dunstaffnage family in a raid to the south. As they returned laden with the spoil they were pursued. The Lowlander proposed that they should leave the spoil and run. Dunstaffnage called him a coward, and dirked him on the spot. In return the Old Grey Man predicted his murderer's immediate death, and promised that he would appear and exult over the death of the rest of Dunstaffnage's family—a promise he is said to have punctually performed. The same story, it will be remembered, is told in *Waverley*.

Singularly enough, but from the want of space, we should say, rather than from any lack of ability or material, the stories illustrative of the darker aspects of superstition, which Lord Archibald Campbell has printed in his *Records*, are exceedingly few. We have but one story about witchcraft, and but two respecting the devil. The story about witchcraft scarcely deserves to be called a witch-story, partaking rather of the nature of a fairy tale. As it is unique in the volume we transcribe it.

'Mac Aonghais an Dùin, accompanied by his manservant, was once crossing the moor between Lochawe and Glenfaochan. They overtook an old woman drawing a heather rope after her. The servant said, "What strange work the old woman is doing!" "Though you would little suppose it," said Mac Aonghais, "she draws after her in that rope all the milk in Glenfaochan." Having said this, he drew his sword and cut the rope, and they were nearly all drowned with milk. The old woman was a witch from Lochaweside, and was in Glenfaochan extracting the substance from the milk' (p. 97).

The idea is a very common one. In Germany witches are called whey-bewitchers and milk-thieves, and are supposed to know how to drain other people's cows of every drop of milk,

without coming near them. Their *modus operandi*, it would appear, is exceedingly simple. Sticking a knife into an oaken post, they hang a string upon it, and then cause the milk to flow out of the string. By a somewhat similar process, wine was supposed to be obtained, sometimes from a post, and sometimes, as in the legend of Doctor Faustus, from a table, but without the use of a string. One of the devil-stories is from Ardchattan. The other is told of one of the Livingstons, 'Gormal Mor' who is said to have lived at Achinduin at the south-west end of Lismore, which faces the Garbh-shlios Hill in Morven.

'Gormal,' it is said, 'was as strong as five ordinary men, and very proud of his strength; and so the Evil One tempted him by a challenge to fight, with the design to destroy him. Gormal induced his friends to row him over to the lonely shore of the rugged Garbh-shlios. There he begged of them to leave him and return to Lismore, and he bade them farewell, as it might be that he would never see them again; so they went away in their boat as he had requested, and their eyes followed him as he climbed up the hill and disappeared into the thicket, and in the waning light they thought they saw a huge black bull, terrible and grim, descending the hill to meet him; but they rowed steadily on, for they had promised Gormal to render him no help, whatever they might see or hear to alarm them on his behalf; and as the distance increased, they heard through the thickening night fierce bellowings, and sullen roars, and the tramping of feet, and the breaking of branches far away and beyond the nearer measured plash of their oars in the water of the Linnhe. So they came home to Achinduin, and spent the night in great fear and dismay for their brave strong friend and kinsman Gormal; and next day they crossed the Linnhe, if haply they might see him on the shore awaiting them, and saved from whatever conflict or terror the night had brought him. But they found only his trampled body lying in the wood on the hillside, and they brought him home with weeping and wailing, and laid him with his kindred dust by the cross of Lismore' (p. 335-6).

This story was told to the narrator of it by a cottager in Lismore as absolutely true. Another cottager of a more rationalistic tendency of mind denied its truth, and explained away the appearance of the Evil One by saying that the hills where Gormal met his death were in the old time the abode of wild and fierce cattle. In the Ardchattan story the Evil One appears as the sower of discord. A number of people were met

together for public worship. While they were waiting for the service to begin, a snake made its appearance on the greensward where they were seated. A quarrel arose, dirks were drawn, many people were killed, and the church profaned. When the priest arrived and learned what had happened, he recognised in the snake an apparition of the devil and refused to preach in the church again. Another church was soon built in its place, the ruins of which still remain. About the bell of this church, which is said to have been called the 'Yellow-bell of Balmodan,' is the curious tradition that having been carried to Scone it refused to remain there, and returned to its old place, ringing out as it came through the air the Gaelic for 'Do not meddle with what does not belong to you.' It was taken away again, but never returned. According to the popular belief it was by some means or other lost in the sea or in a loch (p. 320.)

All the traditions, as we have already remarked, are illustrative of the times to which they refer; and as might be expected those which illustrate the manners and customs of the people are fairly numerous. From one we learn that the heads of the house of Argyll were usually accompanied on their journeys by a harper, who seems to have been an ordinary member of their households. The best bedroom one of the principal chiefs could furnish his guests with, as we have already seen, was a barn. Beef was usually cooked by being boiled in a cow's hide. In the castles the luxury of a table-cloth was sometimes indulged in. The hounds were present during the meal and occasionally enlivened it with a fight. Captives taken in battle were sometimes offered the alternative of being beheaded or flayed alive. Excessive drinking at funerals was as common in Argyllshire as it used to be in the Lowlands. Colonel Campbell of Tiree made a law that only three rounds should be given those attending a funeral—a round meaning a glassful of spirits. The first funeral after the law was made was that of Archie McLean. McLean's son tried hard to induce the Colonel to suspend it for the occasion; but the Colonel was inflexible. McLean, however, was unwilling to submit to the dishonour of having a sober company at his

father's funeral, and having procured two bull's horns, had them corked at one end, and made to hold three glasses apiece. When the company was assembled he had one of these sent round three times to each mourner, and thus managed to observe the Colonel's laws and to have his father buried with the usual honour of nine glasses. When a tenant died the proprietor exacted from his widow the best ox or the best horse on the farm, just as in the Lowlands, the clergy exacted the 'cors-presant' and the 'up-maist claith,' and the landlords the 'hereyield horse.' In each case the exaction was regarded as oppressive, and was at times resisted. In the Hebrides rents were usually paid in young black cattle. A common custom was that of fosterage by which proprietors sent their children to be fostered by respectable and well-to-do tenants. With the children, a number of cattle were sent; the fosterer added an equal number; and when the period of fostering expired, the whole of the cattle, with their increase, were sent home with the children to form the nucleus of their portions.

Towards the end of his volume, Lord Archibald Campbell gives a number of prayers and hymns illustrative of the life and customs of the inhabitants of the Outer Hebrides. Some of the prayers and hymns are very beautiful. Very beautiful, too, is the custom observed in Barra at the commencement of the fishing. In the 'Dunstaffnage Papers,' again, we have a number of legends respecting the Stone of Destiny—that singular stone which, after a great variety of wanderings, has now for some centuries found a place of rest in Westminster Abbey. But over these and many other things the volume contains we must pass. We have said sufficient to show that the interest attaching to it is almost inexhaustible. From the preface we gather that the author has still by him much material of a nature similar to that which he has here published, and we sincerely trust that he will continue the work he has so well begun.

ART. VII.—THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.

THE general history of Scotland naturally divides itself into two parts. There is a time when myth envelopes fact, and a time when fact stands boldly out alone. Prior to the thirteenth century our history is the domain of antiquaries, after the thirteenth century it becomes the domain of jurists. Antiquaries tell us that the early constitution of North Britain was Celtic; jurists tell us that the later constitution was feudal or Norman. Celtic institutions prevailed up to the eleventh century; we know that in the twelfth century the germs of the present constitution existed. The change from Celtic to feudal institutions must have been very sudden if not violent. We cannot tell, probably shall never learn, the nature of the change; we only know the results. Celtic institutions became feudal, and that too without any political revolution. The change is unparalleled in history. In England the reigning dynasty fell with the revolution the country underwent in the eleventh century; but in Scotland we have as great a change affecting the national constitution, yet the same Celtic race continues the dynasty. There was no Saxon to trample out the last embers of primeval British rule; there was no Norman to unseat the representative of the Celtic house. It is indeed a singular fact that although the reigning dynasty did not change, the upper class of the population was in a state of transition. The crowd of Saxon and Norman refugees from England that found their way to the Scottish court, exerted a marvellous influence on the constitution and system of government of Scotland.

The Scottish nation of the eleventh century was a thoroughly heterogeneous one. Roughly speaking it was made up of the Scots and Picts, who had become one kingdom under Kenneth MacAlpine, the Saxons of Lothian and the inhabitants of the district on the south of the Clyde, whose pedigree is still open to dispute. Through a variety of political circumstances these different races coalesced into one nation; and that nation was

called Scotland. The kingdom of the Scots proper continued in the line of Kenneth for many generations, though not succeeding according to the modern and feudal notions of inheritance. It was this Celtic line of Kenneth that became the dynasty of the extended kingdom of Scotland. But no sooner were the dynasty and the constitution of the extended kingdom fairly recognised than they began to give way. The Celtic dynasty came to an end with the death of the little Maid of Norway; and all that was Celtic in the constitution succumbed to the novel influence of feudalism. The crown became strictly hereditary; and the names and functions of the officers, judicial and administrative, that surrounded the king became strictly feudal. There were the chancellor, chamberlain, steward, constable, justiciar, the great officers of State and of the law, just as in England or in France. The whole kingdom became subject to feudal tenure, and Anglo-Norman laws and tribunals were introduced. There were only to be found in some of the more remote regions of the kingdom, where the influence of the English innovation had not yet permeated, Celtic titles entrusting jurisdiction, or it may be lands, to great lords, and binding the inferior executors of the law. But these only remained to show how rapidly their disappearance would be accomplished once the innovation was established at the seat of government.

So far as we are able to judge from the records of the Parliament of Scotland, this kingdom never knew the will of one man. From the earliest times the king has always had his council. There was always this body capable, in theory at least, of checking the caprices of tyrants, and of speaking with more or less of right in the name of the whole nation. We have always had what might be called a parliamentary constitution. To tell what its constitution was in those early days is a problem which still baffles our best antiquaries; but this much we know that the legislative council did not differ from the council whose duty it was to advise the king in judicial proceedings. The earliest authentic record we have of the king meeting with his council is in 1107, when Alexander I. presided over an assembly to elect Turgot to the bishopric of St.

Andrews.* This assembly was composed of the leading clerics and lay lords. The leading clerics and lay lords are the component parts of all subsequent grand councils till the year 1180, when William the Lion invites the free tenants of the Crown to appear at his court.† And, again, the leading clerics, lay lords and free tenants of the Crown are the component parts of all subsequent grand councils for the next hundred and fifty years.‡ But in the meantime the influence of feudalism was spreading over all the Scottish institutions. As early as the reign of Alexander I. we have mention of the chancellor, constable and justiciar; and these demonstrate the advance feudalism had made even by that time in Celtic Scotland.§ For the chancellor had to superintend the royal fiefs and charters, and the constable was necessary owing to the rise of a feudal baronage. This was soon followed in 1166 by the designation of the national council by the feudal title of *Curia Regis*.|| From this date the terms '*curia domini regis*,' '*plena curia regis*,' '*colloquium regis*,' and '*plenum colloquium*,' are applied almost indiscriminately until 1289 when the court is first called *parliamentum*. Fordun indeed tells us that in 1215 Alexander II. held a parliament at Edinburgh—*tenuit parliamentum*;¶ but there is no evidence of the word having been used officially before 1289, and it is probable that Fordun was here applying the phraseology of his own time. From 1289 onwards *parliamentum*, parliament, is the term invariably applied.

This court, however, restricted as it was in the classes of men that attended it, always assumed the right to speak in the name of the whole nation. The general phrases, '*populus*,' '*omnis populus*,' '*alii trium statuum*,' '*communitas*,' '*tota la commune*,' and such like, that are to be found in the early records of Parliament cannot be interpreted to mean the actual presence of the parties so designated at the meetings, as some

* *Acts of Parl.*, I. 63.

† Cf. *Ibid.*, 64, 65, 357, 358, 359, 363, 385, 406, 427.

‡ Cf. *Ibid.*, 65, 66, 67, 374, 386, 398, 399. § *Ibid.* 7.

|| *Ibid.* 386.

¶ *Chronica*, p. 283, edit. 1871.

too zealous historians have held.* The people had no means of expressing their assent. Representation we know did not yet exist. The leading idea that guided our early kings in deciding who were to be summoned to any particular general council, was that no one should be present whose interests were not immediately involved. The notion of public interest as distinct from the interest of those who were entitled to a place in the king's court did not then exist. This higher conception has always been of later growth. It is, however, significant to observe that even at this time the theory of the concurrence of the people was necessary for all legislative enactments.

This theory Robert Bruce determined to reduce to practice. In answer to his summons the burgesses for the first time made their appearance in Parliament in 1326,† as the tenants-in-chief had done one hundred and fifty years before, in obedience to the summons of William the Lion. Robert required money to carry on the war of independence, and a thoroughly representative national tax was accordingly imposed. An annual revenue was also granted the king, and at the same time redress of grievance was recognised as the right of the people. Thus in this parliament of 1326 we have what we now consider the fundamental principles of a representative constitution: a claim of right, redress of grievance, a grant of supplies, and a strict appropriation of the grant.

Let us now look for a moment at the means of raising the revenue. The ordinary revenue of the nation during the Middle Ages was raised from the old prescriptive regal dues of Celtic origin which gave place in the reign of William to the feudal reddendum, the royal demesne, the rents of burgh tenements and dues exacted for admission to the burghal privilege, casualties of ward, relief, marriage, and non-entry arising to the sovereign as superior of lands held immediately of the crown; the customs on export and import of merchandise, and the fines and escheats in the king's court.‡ The royal

* e.g. Gilbert Stuart, *Const. Hist. of Scotland*; Hailes, *Annals*.

† *Acts of Parl.*, I. 475, b.

‡ *Ibid.*, Preface, 5, 6.

household was maintained partly by an oppressive exaction of provisions and conveyance wherever the Court came; and the king's frequent movements were probably caused, in some measure, by the desire to equalise or lighten this burden.* The military force requisite for defending the kingdom or for making a raid into England, was not composed of stipendiary troops, and needed therefore no extraordinary supplies. It was only on very pressing occasions that extraordinary supplies were needed, and on these occasions the different orders of the Estates contributed according to their inclinations and abilities.† But towards the end of the thirteenth century the taxation of the country was beginning to be recognised as a regular principle of constitutional government. The prelates, nobles and chief tenants met and raised the supplies from feudal and non-feudal vassals. Although, therefore, we read of the king calling a council and demanding an extraordinary aid, we are not thence to assume that all the different orders of men who promised the aid were necessary parts of the assembly. But as time went on the power which the large towns had over the national resources and the increasing pecuniary difficulties of the court, raised the burgesses to that influence which they still possess in the affairs of the nation.

We have seen that burgesses attended the parliament of 1326. But long before this time they had a parliament of their own, to which they sent representatives. The towns, from the earliest times, seem to have enjoyed royal privileges, and to have had royal protection from the tyranny and oppression of the great lords or barons in the neighbourhood of the towns; and for this favour they had to pay certain dues to the king's steward. They afterwards became incorporated by royal charter, which granted them a certain territory for payment of a yearly sum, and which allowed them to appoint officers to determine their private disputes and manage their common affairs. This custom was certainly in use in the

* *Ibid.*, Calendar of Letters relating to negotiations between England and Spain; Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*.

† Fordun's *Chronica*, 256, 265.

middle of the twelfth century. In the reign of David I. there arose two separate combinations of burghs for the purpose of determining municipal questions—one, composed of the burghs from Aberdeen northwards, had a confederacy called by the name of Hanse;* the other, a burghal parliament known as Curia Quatuor Burgorum, was composed properly of delegates of the burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. This latter was the more important of the two. It appears that, when any of its towns were in the hands of the enemy, other burghs were included for the purpose of making up the necessary complement of what was called in common parlance the Burghal Parliament. Thus, for instance, in 1368, when Berwick and Roxburgh had fallen into the power of the English, Lanark and Linlithgow were substituted for them.† The statute which substituted Lanark and Linlithgow for Berwick and Roxburgh was enacted by the ‘thrie estatis conventit’ at Perth; and from the statute we learn that this burgh court met with the ‘chamberlain ance a yeir at Hadyngton.’ The functions of this court were judicial and legislative, similar, in fact, to all the earlier legislative assemblies of modern Europe. It heard appeals from the Lord Chamberlain in questions where individual corporations were concerned, as the English Parliament reviewed the decisions of the king’s judges. It passed laws for the regulation of municipalities; but its legislative powers were not restricted to municipal government; it established rules of law on matters of private rights and obligations. Its chief legislative work is still seen in the code of laws which bears its name. These laws afterwards received the sanction of the king’s court or parliament, but even independent of this they not infrequently were received as authoritative by all the burghs of Scotland. Both in their judicial and legislative deliberations the court frequently took counsel

*The Hanse confederacy included the royal burghs of Aberdeen, Kintore, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness. *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, Vol. I., 39; Brentano, *Gilds and Trade Unions*, 35-37.

† *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, I., 190.

with sometimes the Parliament of, and sometimes sundry corporations in, England.*

The power and influence which this unique body must have possessed are attested by its long existence, and account partly for the fact that the burgesses were so slow in asserting their rights as members of the national parliament. The increasing wealth from the produce of the land, and the advantages of trade, could not but add to the importance of the middle classes, and the wants of the sovereign and of government multiplying with riches and luxury, served at the same time to augment the attention which was paid to them. Their attendance in Parliament was thus more needed than ever, but their reluctance to attend and the authority with which the burghal Parliament was clothed, show that the towns did not regard themselves as vitally interested in the general parliament of the nation. By degrees all the royal burghs were absorbed; but as this burghal parliament grew in numbers it diminished in power. This was due not so much to the increase in numbers as to the fact that the municipalities were now beginning to take their place in the general parliament of the land. Under the name of Convention of Royal Burghs it continued to adjust questions regarding the internal constitution of separate corporations till the present century; but by the Burgh Act of 1833 it lost this function.

In the fourteenth century Scotland had all that was peculiar to its parliamentary constitution. This in a great measure was due to the misfortunes that followed the death of Robert Bruce, and the frequent absence and long captivity of his son and successor David. Gradually, and even against the wish of parliament, the powers of parliament increased. It assumed full control over taxation and expenditure, and regulated the coinage and currency which were already royal prerogatives. It provided for the defence of the royal garrisons, regulated the police, dictated the terms of peace with foreign States, and assumed the right to arraign officers accused of malversation, although they held their offices hereditarily by the grant of the

* *Ibid.*, p. 40.

sovereign. It insisted on the king taking its advice with regard to his expenditure and economy, and generally used such plain speaking as is unparalleled for three hundred years to come. This interference with the work of the executive, however, had its drawbacks, and many of the politicians of that day saw this. Secrecy was required where publicity was given, and deliberations that should have taken place in Council were done in open Parliament. To remedy this a scheme was devised, but a pretext was needed. Of late Parliament had met so often and the deliberations had taken so long time, that a little agitation for a little less legislative work was all that was needed. Accordingly in 1367 committees of Parliament with Parliamentary powers were appointed on the pretext of general convenience;* and from these committees the Court of Session and the Lords of the Articles appear to have had their origin. The Parliament at which this election took place was held at Scone in the autumn, and the other members were allowed to return home on account of the harvest. The clergy, the barons and the burgesses had representatives on the committees. Next year in March, at Perth, the committees were re-elected,† this time because of the inconvenience of the season and the dearness of the provisions. One committee had to attend to the general affairs of the king and kingdom, and the other, a smaller one, to act as judges on appeals. In 1369 the committees were re-appointed.‡

This innovation in civil jurisdiction was a gradual development of the system which had been established in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was similar to that of other feudal monarchies in Europe.§ This early jurisdiction was exercised by the king in person, or by the great officers of his court, the justices and the chamberlain. Circuits were undertaken by these officers throughout the kingdom, and also by the sheriffs as the king's representatives within their respective shires, and by the lay and ecclesiastical persons who had grants

* *Acts of Parl.* I. 501.

† *Ibid.* 506.

‡ *Ibid.* 507.

§ Mackay, *Practice of the Court of Session*, I. 8.

of jurisdiction. In the burghs the provosts and bailies heard civil cases, and appeals lay to the court of the four burghs. In all other cases appeals lay from the sheriff or other local judge to the justiciar, and from the justiciar to the king and Parliament.* Parliament and the Secret or Privy Council, which existed as early as the reign of Alexander II., possessed an extraordinary jurisdiction of indefinite extent, and hence the authority of the various tribunals was often a matter of some perplexity to litigants. Irregular as the appointment of a judicial committee might seem standing by itself, we cannot doubt that it was an improvement on the procedure which it superseded. The committee was reappointed in 1371,† and although we do not know for certain whether similar committees were appointed till the beginning of the fifteenth century, on account of the meagreness of the records, we know that it was in full working order in 1424,‡ and was continued in every subsequent parliament. The committee went through various stages till it finally became by statute the College of Justice, or Court of Session, in the reign of James V.

The other committee developed into the committee of the Lords of the Articles.§ The committee of 1369 had no burgesses on it; it consisted of four members from the clergy and twelve from the great barons. But permission was granted the king to add 'certain other persons whom our lord the king wished to have there.' It cannot for a moment be supposed that in granting power to these committees parliament was not acting quite voluntarily. Paltry as the reasons seem to us for their appointment, they were of consequence in those days. A harvest unattended to, dear provisions, an inconvenient season, and the necessity for private deliberations on many matters that came before the Estates, were obstacles not to be overcome by the little-valued rights and privileges of parliament. The delegating by Parliament of its business to a committee of its members was perhaps the simplest method available. The only defect in the scheme was that laxity about the limits of the committee's powers which characterises all early legislation. The committee was dis-

* Mackay, I., 9.† *Acts of Parl.*, I., 534.

‡ Mackay, I., 12.

§ *Acts of Parl.* I., 507.

tinctly a committee of the Three Estates, and not the creature of the prerogative; and its duty was to receive articles from the king, examine them, and prepare them for parliament. The eighth parliament of James II., for instance, had 'the avisement of the deputies of the thre estatis touching the matter of the money.'* James III. passed a statute in which power is entrusted 'be the hail thre estatis to certane personis underwritten to commoun and conclude upone the matters after following.'† It can hardly be doubted that during the first two hundred years of the existence of this committee its object was merely to prepare business for parliament. It was supplied with certain subjects upon which it had to deliberate, and during its deliberation the Estates stood adjourned. The result of its deliberations was reported to the reassembled parliament, and parliament could discuss and vote upon the report when it was brought up.

So long as the election rested with the different Estates, and the committee did not encroach upon or usurp the proceedings of parliament, the committee must have been a useful institution. Its election in the early part of its history seems to bear the marks of legality, candour, and justice. It was not indeed an unnatural institution in a country where, as has been observed,‡ the military genius of the ancient nobles, too impatient to submit to the drudgery of civil business, and too impetuous to observe the forms or to enter into the details in conducting it, made them glad to lay the burden upon a small number, while they themselves had no other labour than simply to give or refuse their sanction to the bills which were presented to them. During the Reformation period, when questions began to be debated more keenly and the people showed a tendency to take a more lively interest in the proceedings of parliament, attempts were successfully made by the Crown to make the election of the committee a prerogative, and to give the committee power to direct all the proceedings of parliament and a negative before debate. One of Queen Mary's letters might be understood to mean that the sovereign already had the power of election. 'We, accompanied

* *Acts of Parl.*, II., App. 6, 56.

† 1469, c. 20, II. 97.

‡ Robertson, *Hist. of Scotland*, I., 69.

with our nobility for the time, pass to the talbuith of Edinburgh, for holding of our parliament, on the 7th day of this instant, and elected the Lords Articulars.* Whether Mary elected the committee herself, as this extract would seem to imply, or whether the nobles then present with her—viz., her privy councillors and others—elected it, as some jurists have held, is, for our object, of little consequence, since in either case it was equally advantageous to the Crown. From this time till its abolition the Lords of the Articles must be considered as being on its downward course. There is an artful statute of James VI., professedly to put down 'frivolous disputations,' which is the first enactment of the kind on this subject. It provides that a committee be appointed twenty days before the meeting of parliament to receive all petitions and to frame a programme of bills for parliament to pass.† There is no mention of the party to elect this committee; but since it was to meet twenty days before the meeting of parliament, it evidently could not be parliament. Nor did the election lie with the last parliament, although there is an instance of this kind in the reign of James III.;‡ for in the reign of Mary, as we have seen, the election lay with the queen or her council. The election must therefore have rested with the king. Indeed, that the king could thus assume the right of election without protest is not surprising, for the encroachments on the freedom of election by parliament had been gradual. In 1560, for instance, the lords spiritual chose the temporal lords, and the temporal lords chose the spiritual; and the burgesses chose their own members.§ Although this method of election does seem a step towards absolutism, this election was by no means satisfactory to the clergy, for Spottiswood tells us that the clergy were very much displeased with their representatives, complaining that 'some of them were mere laics, and all of them apostates,'|| that is, none were popishly inclined. It is, however, probable that the omission of the elective body was a device of the king in order that the choice might lie with himself, and thus

* *Ibid.*, 70.

† 1594, c. 28, IV. 69.

‡ 1469, c. 20, II. 97; 1475, c. 18, II. 108.

§ Spottiswood, *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 149.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 150.

give him a negative on debate, as appears from a passage in Calderwood, * who tells us that petitions were to be presented to the 'council appointed by his majesty,' and also from the new device submitted by James VI. in 1621 and enacted by Parliament. † This new device gave the king the ascendant in parliament, for the election was virtually to lie with the bishops, who were always devoted to the Crown. The bishops were to elect eight noblemen, these eight noblemen to elect eight bishops, and these sixteen to elect eight commissioners from the shires and eight from the burghs. Thus it was practically a nomination of the Crown. Charles I. added by statute the officers of the State ‡ and made the Lord Chancellor the president, although there is evidence that the officers of State had served on the committee since 1567. But the committee had now become too despotic, and in 1640 parliament speaks as boldly as it did in 1369. The people had taken up arms in defence of their religion and liberties; and when the Estates assembled they were in no mood to sanction further inroads on their rights. They protested against the abuse of their rights, § and enacted that henceforth the Estates, intimidated by no threat from the king, were to elect the committee themselves. This beneficial statute, however, did not last long. The ardent spirit of loyalty that manifested itself at the restoration was quite submissive to the royal prerogative, and in 1662 it was 'declared that the nomination and constitution of the Articles at this time shall be without prejudice of what course his majesty shall take hereafter for the constitution of the Articles.' || The committee now became in truth the Scottish Star Chamber. Nothing could be brought before parliament except by the king's authority, or what was the same thing, by the authority of the Lords of the Articles, and this was an absolute bar to all hopes of any laws for securing the liberty of the subject. The political history of that unhappy period shows that the committee was quite successful in its aims; but in 1688 the old boldness of the Commons returned. Parlia-

* P. 759.

† *Acts of Parl.*, IV., 594 a b.‡ 1633, *Ibid.*, V., 9.§ *Ibid.*, V., 252, 253, 254, 293.|| *Ibid.*, VII., 371.

ment characterised the committee a 'great grievance to the nation,' and abolished it.*

It is in the development of the curia quatuor burgorum we see the reason that, after the burghs came to form one of the recognised Estates that made up the parliament, they made no haste to make their way into that august assembly of prelates and barons. They saw, too, that they would have to divide the responsibility without much share of the honour of legislation. They, as later did the small barons of Scotland and as did the burgesses and knights of England, regarded seat and vote in parliament as burdens, and they tried various means to get relief therefrom. Each royal burgh was at first required to send at least two representatives or commissioners to parliament; and this power which so required them seems to have rested merely on practice. The burgesses resembled in this respect the tenants-in-chief of England, whose representation owed its legality to practice, and acquiescence in that practice giving it the force of law. The burgesses of Scotland do not seem to have been regularly summoned to parliament. Some of the statutes of James III. contain no mention of them as consenting parties. Numerous complaints seem to have been made when a money bill had been passed in their absence and payment of their share had been demanded. They not unfrequently pleaded ignorance; and to take away this ground of complaint, James IV. ordained in 1503 that the commissioners and headmen of the burghs should be warned when taxation was to be imposed.† In whatever light the burgesses of 1503 regarded this enactment, whether as a recognition of their right or as a useless burden taking away at the same time a convenient ground of complaint, we cannot now but characterise it as an express recognition of their right, although it might have been set aside by an irregular exercise of power.‡ James IV. issued an order to the sheriffs to summon three or four commissioners from each burgh to parliament, and Mary re-enacted and emphasised this Act.§ Mary's Act provides that 'five or six of the principals, provosts, aldermen, and bailies

* *Ibid.*, IX., Append. 127.

† 1503, c. 39, II., 252.

‡ Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, III., 305.

§ 1563, c. 20, II., 543.

of the realm' be warned and summoned to parliament to consult on peace and war and general taxation so as 'rather to augment the privileges of the burghs than to diminish them.' But both before and after this statute the number actually attending was small, and no thoroughly representative system was introduced till nearly twenty years after the Union of the Crowns.' By an order of the Convention of Royal Burghs, one member was returned for each burgh, except Edinburgh, which was to send two representatives. This law remained in force through all the troubles of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the struggles of the Covenant till 1688, when a new theory was introduced. Hitherto the election of commissioners of royal burghs had rested with the magistrates and common council, but now they were to be elected by poll of all the burgesses.

Barons, small and great, had to give personal attendance in parliament not as a matter of right but as a service. The small barons were separated from the common people as also from the great barons. They could possess any number of fees down to a single fee and all of them in consequence could attend parliament. They were an order of men between the nobles and the people, whose privileges, estates, and numbers rendered them respectable and powerful. They got the name less barons from their inferiority to the nobles, and in consequences of the advantages they possessed in common with them of attending the great councils of the nation.* In the fourteenth century their number rapidly increased. The tenure of land changed from the high feudal notions which exempted land from commerce to milder and more natural regulations. Land came to be *in commercio*; and, besides, co-heirship and partitions divided large estates into small ones. The king, from a principle of policy as well as from motives of favour, admitted the alienations of territories. Baronies and lordships were broken down and given in parcels to a train of proprietors. Thus there was a very large number of small barons in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the full attendance of whom in parliament would be highly inconvenient, if not impossible. James I. accordingly introduced a series of

* Stuart, 201; *Law Tracts*.

reforms.* He freed the small barons and free-tenants (the old *libere tenentes*) from personal attendance on condition that they elected two or more wise men at the head court of each shire according to its size with modifications as to the smaller shires. He directed the commissioners to choose a 'wise and expert man' to act as 'common spekar of the parliament' through whom they were to communicate with the king and other estates. And he ordained that each commissioner should have his costage (expenses) paid by his constituents. These reforms were decidedly healthy and enlightened; they were honest and just; but they had one fault, they were far in advance of the age. We, therefore, are not surprised that they never took effect. No speaker was ever chosen; and through the whole history of the Scottish Parliament, no such officer was ever known, although in no legislative assembly could one with the original duties of his station have been more needed. It cannot be doubted that James intended to put the parliament of Scotland on the same footing as the parliament of England, and to render the Commons a separate house. But the failure of one part of the scheme of reform involved the failure of the whole; and accordingly no division took place. Not even did the county electors take the advantage of the measure of relief held out to them of electing representatives instead of giving personal attendance. Perhaps the thrifty freeholders grudged the costage, for the costage was no small affair. When the system of paying costage was established, one commissioner's costage for a fifty-two days' sitting of parliament, amounted to no less a sum than £3000 of our money.† Or perhaps the commissioner was not sure of his costage, and was afraid of the dangers of the journey to and from the parliament. Thus the whole scheme was a vast failure; and James's untimely death cut off the chance of training the electors to his reforms, which, had he lived, he undoubtedly would have accomplished. Thirty years later another attempt at representation failed. Few of the small barons ever went to parliament at all, not even the threat of fines which James held out would make them attend. During the reign of James III. the number of those who attended

* 1427, c. 2, II., 15.† Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 152.

never amounted to thirty, and was often much less. In the reign of James IV. twelve was the highest number, and frequently not one appeared. In the reign of James V. we find only two or three; and the case was similar during the reigns of Mary and James VI.* It was not till a late date that the representation became an object of ambition among the Commons; and when they did come to so regard it they did not possess the power they formerly had, being overawed by the great lords or swamped by their followers.

The fight over episcopacy was raging in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and James VI. taking advantage of the continued absence of the small barons, whose attendance was so thoroughly in desuetude that they could not now think of resuming as a privilege what they had so long neglected considered as a service, passed in 1578, an anti-reform bill,† restricting the county franchise to those freeholders whose possessions reached the annual value of forty shillings. Considering the value of money at that time, this must have been a measure of extraordinary exclusiveness. At the same time, however, it ratified the statute of James I. respecting representation; and from this somewhat late date may be said to have begun the system of county representation. The restrictions on the qualification of commissioners agreed in many respects with those in use long before in England. The commissioner was to be a king's freeholder, to reside within the shire, to be of 'good rent and well esteemed;' elections were to be annual, and the freeholders of the counties were to be taxed for the expenses of the commissioners. From this period the representatives of the small barons or freeholders formed a considerable proportion of every parliament. In it they were classed and entered as a separate Estate, although by the theory of the constitution they formed a portion of the baronage.

This act of James's, disfranchising though it was, must have fitly expressed the temper of the nation; for on the subsequent occasions when the power of the people was decidedly in the ascendant there is no attempt to lower the electoral qualification.

* Table of Parliaments of Scotland.

† 1587, c. 120, III. 509.

There are only two Acts between this date and the Union of the Parliaments, affecting county representation, but neither of these can really be said to make any difference on the electoral qualification.* One fixed the allowance to each commissioner at £5 Scots per day, and this allowance had to be paid by the whole freeholders, heritors, and liferenters, holding of the king according to the value of their rents and lands, within the shire. By the other lands of £400 of valued rent holders of the crown are considered as equivalent to a forty-shilling land of old extent.†

The great barons trace their connection with parliament back to the time when the National Council was the King's Court for the kingdom in general. By the feudal constitution every superior had a jurisdiction within his own territory: his vassals were bound to attend his courts and in these courts all causes civil and criminal were tried. Thus the King's Court became the extended court of the Crown vassal, and to this court the barons and freeholders were bound to give attendance as vassals of the king. The great barons were summoned by name and the lesser barons or freeholders were summoned by the sheriffs edictally or in general terms.‡ Attendance in parliament was a personal service and could not be performed by the vassal unless the superior chose to accept it. The vassal's right to attend, or the power by which he had to render the service rested solely upon his tenure of land. The king then, as now, was the fountain of all honour, and then, as now, it was the prerogative of the crown to bestow honours and dignities of all kinds. A superior could unite discontinuous lands into one artificial subject in favour of his vassal; but no superior could unite lands into an earldom or barony, except the king, because it would not be called an earldom or barony unless it was held of the king.§ The earldom was origin-

* 1661. c. 253, VII., 235.

† 1681. Balfour explains the difference between the old extent and the new extent:—'And it is to wit concerning the difference betwixt the auld extent and the new extent, that generallie ane merk of auld extent could be estemit to ane pound of new extent.' *Practicks*, p. 430.

‡ *Essays concerning British Antiquities*, 77. *Inquiry into the Custom of Succession in Scotland*, 63.

§ *Essays concerning British Antiquities*, 81.

ally an office, but when the number of earls exceeded the number of sheriffdoms, an earldom became a mere territorial dignity. The style of the charter accordingly varied. The common form was to erect lands into an earldom in favour of the grantee and his heirs which was understood to be all that was necessary to bestow upon him the territorial dignity. Ultimately, however, the notion of territorial honour had quite gone out, and an earl's patent was so framed as to import a mere personal dignity, without relation either to office or to land.

That the title was merely a territorial dignity originally is seen from the earliest extant patent of an earl that we have in Scotland. Robert I. grants certain lands to Ranulph, Earl of Murray, and the heirs male of his body to be held of the crown *in libero comitatu*, and no other form or ceremony seems to have been used. Further that the dignity went along with the lands to the purchaser in the same way that the dignity of a baron by tenure did, is seen from the charter* granted by Thomas Fleming, Earl of Wigtown, to Archibald of Douglas, Knight of Galloway—whereby for the feuds betwixt him and the great men, and inhabitants of the Earldom of Wigtown, and for £500 sterling paid to him, he disposes to the said Archibald the foresaid earldom with the pertinents. This charter was duly confirmed by Robert II. Thomas Fleming is now no longer an Earl, but is elsewhere designated simply as the 'laird of Fulwood,' and Archibald Douglas is now no longer the Knight of Galloway but becomes the Earl of Wigtown.†

In England there were three kinds of barons—barons by writ, barons by tenure, and barons by creation. In Scotland we have no instance of a baron by writ. When barons by creation were first introduced we do not know; but we know that they were common before the reign of James I. The act of 1427 already quoted contains a regulation 'that bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, lords of parliament and baronets be summoned to parliament by special precept.' Whether patents were used in creating lords of parliament we do not know, but it is probable that, before the reign of James VI. when patents are first mentioned, no other

* 16th July, 1371.

† *Essays Concerning British Antiquities*, p. 87.

form was used than that mentioned * in the records of parliament—that the king in full parliament created such a man and certain heirs mentioned, lords of parliament and ordained him to be called Lord A B of C D. The new lord was designated by ‘annexing lord to the sirname, with the addition of the name of the estate connected by the particle of,’† thus Lord Lindsay of Byres, Lord Stewart of Ochiltree. It is probable that the ceremony was done in Parliament. Barons by tenure on the other hand were called lairds; the Laird of Dundas, the Laird of Calder, the Laird of Luss. In Latin phraseology he was known as Dominus de Calder, Dominus de Dundas; but a lord of parliament was known as Dominus Erskine, Dominus Seaton.

The lords of Parliament had no greater power or privilege in parliament than the barons by tenure had;‡ yet the rank of a lord of parliament was above that of a baron by tenure. This was because the former was distinctly an honour conferred by the king. Besides, the attendance of a baron by tenure was a service and not a matter of right; the attendance of a lord of parliament was a privilege by virtue of his creation. Again the honour of a baron by tenure was annexed to the land and always went with the land; the honour of a lord of parliament was annexed to the family and was inseparable from it. As a consequence of this, the barons by tenure tired of the expense of attending parliament without any return either of profit or of honour withdrew from parliament altogether; and ultimately the barons by tenure who attended parliament were mostly the eldest sons of the nobility, infest in lands, to entitle them to a seat there. In fact, from 1547 to 1587 there is not to be found in the rolls of parliament a single instance of a baron by tenure attending parliament. The humiliation of the barons by tenure however was not yet complete. The statute of 1587, as we have already seen, required the lesser barons to send commissioners to parliament; but it did more, it classed the barons by tenure in the same rank as the small barons—‘All freeholders of the king under the degree of prelates and lords of parliament are to be warned by proclamation to be

* *Ibid.*, 94.† *Ibid.*, p. 95.‡ *Dissertation on the Lords of Parliament*, 31-45. *Law Tracts*.

present at the chusing of these commissioners.' This act gave them the final blow and reduced them to the rank of small barons and freeholders who have no other privilege than to send representatives. Hence as has been remarked, 'a Scotch laird has come to be in some measure a term of reproach like a French marquis or a German baron.'*

We have seen that it was as holders of baronies the great barons were bound to attend parliament, and that it was as holders of fees from the Crown that the tenants *in capite* made their appearance there. Likewise it was as holders of baronies as well as heads of the Church that the bishops assembled there. The bishops sat in the double capacity of bishops and barons; the abbots who of old had voted as such sat by the sole title of their tenures, that is, as barons, and those abbots who were not tenants *in capite* did not sit in Parliament. Hence it is that from the earliest mention of the Scottish National Council we find spiritual lords in common with temporal lords members of that institution. There are many instances of the bishops appearing early as legislators, and the earliest instance we have of them associated with the king in the administration of justice is in the eleventh century. Up to the Reformation there is no change in the constitution of parliament respecting the clerical element, although the number of clerics attending the different parliaments varies from time to time. But from the time of the Reformation to the Revolution in 1688 this element underwent a series of changes. The clergy in the sixteenth century lost their independence, and became the most corrupt part of the Scottish constitution. They had become very wealthy; indeed, there is every reason to believe that at least one half of the wealth of Scotland was in the hands of the clergy, chiefly of a few individuals.† This wealth was their curse, for it led to neglect of duties and to dissoluteness of life,‡ and these vices met with their usual punishment in the people's hatred. We know that James V. was a defender of the clergy, and, reasoning from this, Robertson thinks that he favoured the

* *Essays Concerning British Antiquities*, 100.

† M'Crie, *Life of Knox*, p. 15.

‡ Robertson, I., 149; M'Crie, 15; Hallam, III., 311.

clergy as a counterpoise to the aristocracy, which may account for the eagerness of the latter generally in the Reformation. Be this as it may, however, we know that in Scotland the struggle with Papal Rome was intensely severe. Although creeds and ceremonies for a time remained unaltered, statute after statute was passed to restrain the abuses and exactions of the ever-hated Roman Court. The clergy favoured to the utmost the pretensions to money exactions which the Pope sought to levy. As soon, however, as the new Faith was established, the clergy directed their favour to the king, and became, as we have already seen, marked for their dependence and venality. This altered the whole posture of affairs in Scotland. Before the Reformation the history of Scotland may be said to be one continued struggle between the king and the aristocracy. After the Reformation the struggle continued, but it was on quite different lines: the struggle now was between the temporal and spiritual authorities, the Crown and the Church, the legislature and the people.

This struggle over Church government ended in the exclusion of the heads of the Church from parliament altogether; but when the authority of the Pope was first disregarded and the doctrines of Catholicism first despised, such exclusion was never intended. For some time after the acceptance of the new Faith, considerable vacillation was exhibited between the Presbyterian and Episcopal forms of Church government. Presbyterianism was strongly opposed by James, who wished on every occasion to extend his prerogative.

The attack on the order of the bishops began early in the Church.* In 1581, an act of the Assembly declared that the office of bishop as then exercised had no foundation or warrant in the word of God. And three years later Andrew Melville, one of the ablest enemies of the hierarchy, was summoned before the Privy Council for his strong language against Episcopacy. At the instigation of the church courts he declined its jurisdiction, and fled to England to escape punishment. To attempt to diminish the rights and privileges of any of the three Estates was

* Spottiswood, 330.

declared high treason; but, notwithstanding, the spirit and zeal of the Presbyterian leaders were by no means lessened. When James VI. came of age in 1587, a law which threatened a deadly blow to the ecclesiastical estate was easily passed. The ancient patrimony of the Church, which had suffered much of late by the depredations of the laity, was still considerable, and for the most part was held by bishops. James was in need of money, yet he did not care to levy an additional tax. Additional taxation would be unpopular, and James had reasons at present for maintaining his popularity. At this time the bishops were anything but popular, and a more plausible scheme could hardly be suggested, than to seize this ancient patrimony of the Church, by annexing the lands and appropriating the endowments of the dignified offices. This was a distinct gain to the opponents of episcopacy; and it was followed by many other measures of a similar nature. Deprived of their revenues, yet still privileged with seats in parliament, the prelates became not a little contemptible. This of course was the logical result of the appropriation of the ecclesiastical property, although James had not foreseen it. He did not now relish this state of affairs. Besides his natural repugnance to a system that was little suited to his exalted notions of royal prerogative, he could not fail to see that the influence of the crown would be greatly diminished by the total abolition of the ecclesiastical estate. He therefore ardently supported episcopacy. But the nation was against him. James was so far successful, however, when in 1597 it was enacted that all pastors and ministers upon whom the king conferred the office, place, title and dignity of a bishop, abbot or other prelate, were to have vote in parliament as fully as any ecclesiastical prelate had in any time hitherto.* This act was followed by a resolution of the general assembly that it might be represented in parliament by certain of its members chosen by the king, and that they were to resign their power to the General Assembly of the Church every year. This continued with little alteration till 1640,† when all clerics of whatever degree were excluded from parliament, which was now declared to consist of the nobility, barons and burgesses.

* 1597, c. 2, IV. 130.

† 1640, c. 2, V. 259.

This alteration on the constitution of parliament by lopping off one of the Three Estates was not, however, of long continuance. Episcopacy returned with the restoration of monarchy, and with episcopacy the representation of the Church in Parliament.* The national aversion to episcopacy was too deeply rooted and too violent to be easily destroyed. And although it was impossible for the people at that time to obtain redress from the tyranny of the misguided Stuarts no sooner was an end put to the government of James VII. than an abhorrence of prelacy was publicly avowed, and the episcopal form of church government declared to be a great and an insupportable grievance. Immediately after the Revolution of 1688 the Estate of the clergy ceased to be directly represented in the Scottish Parliament; and from that time down to the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, the 'Three Estates' were composed of the temporal peers, the officers of State and the commissioners from shires and burghs.†

The records of the Scottish Parliament point out some further peculiarities in the constitution of Parliament. Although life peerages are not very common, several instances occur, the earliest instance being in the reign of Robert II. Walter Steward, second son of Robert II. becomes Earl of Athole for life only. David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, having lost the hereditary dukedom of Montrose by a parliamentary forfeiture but having regained the king's favour, was restored to the same dukedom, *pro toto tempore vite sue*. The second son of James III. becomes the Duke of Ross; William, Lord Douglas, the husband of the Duchess of Hamilton, becomes the Duke of

* *Acts of Parl.*, 1662, c. 3, 7, VII. 372.

† 'In order still to have the parliament composed of the three estates, what was formerly regarded as the second Estate, the great and small barons, was divided into two, making the great barons the first Estate and the small barons the second.' *An Enquiry into the Original Constitution of Parliament of Scotland*, p. 28. But this was not the case. When commissioners from the counties were first authorised, it was resolved that they by themselves should form the second Estate, the first being composed of the lords, lay and clerical, so that when the clerical lords were struck off, it made no difference in the number of Estates. — *Lords' Report on the Dignity of a Peer*. IV., 34.

Hamilton; Sir Walter Scott of Haychester, the husband of the Countess of Buccleuch, becomes the Earl of Forres; Francis Abercromby, husband of the Baroness Sempill, becomes Lord Glassford.* It should be added, however, that these instances are the exception and not the rule. The great officers of State were also members of the Scottish Parliament *ex officio*. It would seem that from a very early time they could speak and give advice but they had not the right of voting in parliament till 1617.† In this year it was enacted that eight officers should be entitled to sit and have all the privileges of ordinary members.

We have now seen the constitution of the Parliament of Scotland, and we have found in the course of our enquiry that attendance in parliament was by no means given with readiness. This, however, was in no way due to the king or the king's officers. The service was demanded by the king on every necessary occasion, and the number of statutes preventing members absenting themselves shows, if proof were necessary, that parliament made every endeavour to induce members to attend.‡ As early as 1292 the Earl of Carrick and others for having absented themselves were a second time summoned to do homage and hear sentence passed upon them. And so again the Earl of Caithness who had absented himself from the first parliament of King John was summoned to do homage.§ In the fourteenth century members who were 'contumaciously' absent, are especially singled out for punishment; but it is in the fifteenth century that we have a regular system of fines adopted. || James I., in 1425, provided that prelates, lords, and freeholders must attend in person unless a suitable excuse be given. But two years later, absentees were to be fined £10, and in 1487, they were not only to be fined but to incur the 'king's indignation and displeasure.'¶ But all this was of little avail; the people saw no good in attending parliaments, perhaps they saw little use for parliament at all. The penalty for absence was accordingly raised.** Absentee great

* Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 145. 146.

† 1617, Acts of Parl. IV., 526.

‡ *Ibid.*, I., 477 b, 488 a.

§ *Ibid.*, 1292, I. 447 b, 448 a.

|| *Ibid.*, 1425, c, 8. II. 9.

¶ *Ibid.*, II. 180 a.

** 1525, II. 205 a.

lords might be charged with treason; and an absentee commissioner might be proclaimed an outlaw.* But still the same result. Less severe penalties were next tried. A graduated scale of fines was introduced ranging from £300 for an earl to 100 merks for a burgess; † and the king was empowered to grant leave of absence to noblemen and prelates who were willing to appoint proxies. And so on through a long series of statutes, sometimes the penalties being very severe, sometimes being greatly relaxed, but still the same principle of enforced attendance is recognised. Even as late as 1693 an Amendment Act remodelled the whole grade of fines: ‡ from a nobleman at £1200 Scots to a burgh commissioner at £200 Scots; and in 1700, means had to be taken to restrain members from leaving the house until parliament was finally adjourned. §

The number of members composing the Scottish Parliament ranged from 300 to 330. The nobility numbered about 160. The Church was represented by twelve bishops and other clerical lords; but these, as we have seen, on the final establishment of a parity in the clerical office, were expelled. There were two knights or commissioners from each of the thirty-three counties, and a representative from each of the sixty-six royal burghs, twenty-six being added after the Revolution to counterbalance the creation of peers by William III. The members so returned whether from the counties or from the burghs can scarcely be said to have been representatives in the true sense. The people had no voice whatever in the choice of representatives. It has been estimated that the qualification for electors in the shires was about £200 sterling of land holden of the crown. || The election rested with the magistracy in the towns, which in consequence of their municipal constitution and their holding of the crown, were termed royal burghs; and nothing could be more close than the most liberally constituted Scotch town council of that day, the peculiar feature of which was that each set of magistrates elected its own successors. The election of commissioners thus rested

* *Acts of Parl.*, 1617, c. 7, IV. 535. † 1587, c. 16, III. 443.

‡ 1693, c. 3, IX. 250.

§ 1700, X. 213.

|| Henry Cockburn.

with the freeholders in the county and the magistracy in the towns, but in reality they always rested with the Privy Council; at least in no instance was there a free parliament of the people called together.

Before the reign of Charles I. the duration of parliament was on no regular footing. Sometimes parliament met annually, at other times it sat for years as it suited the designs of the king. In 1641, however, triennial parliaments were introduced, a measure hailed with enthusiasm by the Puritans. The first triennial parliament met in 1644; but the Covenanters had the preceding year called an irregular convention at the suggestion of their leader, Sir Thomas Hope, to manage the business of the Solemn League and Covenant. The parliament of 1644 met without the king's sanction or call, but in accordance with the general agreement to that effect granted in 1641. The parliaments of Charles II. were of the most unworthy description, and those of James II. were worse if that were possible. The king's commissioner was often unable to keep his seat through drunkenness, a circumstance not at all unusual, for the most open debauchery prevailed among almost all those belonging to the court.

Before the seventeenth century there was no fixed place for the meeting of the Estates. The Estates were summoned by the king to attend him at different parts of the kingdom when their advice and assent were considered necessary. Thus parliament has been held at Stirling, Perth, Scone, Linlithgow, and many other places, but finally Edinburgh was fixed on when that city became the chief residence of the court. The three Estates met in one chamber at the same time, and it is impossible to calculate how inimical this was to the independence of the third Estate. It destroyed freedom of discussion and prevented the growth of parliamentary feeling. The power and influence of the commons were naturally kept much longer under restraint in Scotland than in England where they at an early period met in a separate house and had their speaker or president. But further at the very time when the third estate was beginning to take its proper place in parliament circumstances occurred, which had the effect of greatly reducing the authority or position of parliament altogether. The accession of James VI. to the

throne of England was unfavourable to Scottish constitutionalism. It enabled him to reduce the Scottish Parliament to a court to register his decrees simply, and his successors succeeded in stifling all parliamentary discussion. Besides the greater importance attached to the proceedings of the English Parliament, had the tendency to throw the Scottish Parliament and even Scotland itself into a provincial position. These things militated against the growth of the various powers and privileges of parliament; and thus it was rather from accident than from any defect in its constitution, that the Parliament of Scotland never attained the true end of a national parliament.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the powers of parliament never formed the subject of debate in parliament; indeed, there was very little debating in parliament at all. The Estates never freed the sovereign of responsibility. They brought James III. to task,* and the precedent was made all the more emphatic by the attempt of the lawyers of the seventeenth century to conceal it by destroying the record in which it is set forth. And there are many other instances which show that parliament was not slow to speak to its sovereign when they supposed him to be in the wrong. No one ever thought of making a party in parliament, nor did any one look to parliament for redress of grievances. Throughout the whole of the Jameses, when a party was displeased with the existing government, they did not attack the favourite measure or minister in parliament, nor did they try to pass a vote of censure on the government. The opposition took a practical way of righting themselves; they laid a trap for the king, and carried him off to some fortified town, and summoned a parliament to enact laws for the protection of their own interests.†

Parliament always kept in its own hands the power of making peace and war; it gave special instructions to ambassadors; and we all remember the political crisis over the great question of marrying Queen Mary to the Prince of England because the treaty had been negotiated under instructions from an imper-

* Burton, III., 387.† Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 144.

fectly-constituted parliament.* The question whether the consent of the sovereign was necessary to an Act of Parliament was never definitely settled. The royal prerogative was somewhat extensive, yet there was scarcely ever any dispute over it. How unlike the history of the parliament of England in this respect! The vigilance of the Scottish Estates was ever directed against the encroachments of England; the Estates, in fact, were the careful guardians of the Crown against peril from subjugation by England. Any conflict of the Estates with the Crown, the parliamentary records furnish us, occurred when there was a suspicion that the sovereign was in too close amity with England to be trusted with the keeping of the independence of Scotland. †

The reasons for this are not far to seek. The many calamities of the royal family gave the Estates the opportunity of independent action, and made it a great national duty. From the death of Alexander III. to the majority of James VI. there is a period of three hundred years. During one hundred and thirty-four years of this period the kings of Scotland were either minors or prisoners, that is to say, that for little more than half that period was Scotland ruled by an adult monarch. ‡ It is thus little to be wondered at that the Estates acquired functions which were unsuited to a representative body. But the reason why the rules of parliamentary government were so undefined, we find, perhaps, in the character of the people. The Scots had in a much less degree that innate spirit of independence which is so characteristically told in the constitutional history of England. Hugh Miller remarks that the Scots had courage enough to meet an enemy face to face in the field, to throw away the sense of danger and fear of death, and to stand firm against odds mustered against them when the worst came to the worst; but for political courage required for such warfare as has to be maintained not with the enemies that assail from without, but with class interests that encroach from within, they were too calculating, too cautious, too canny. The man ready in one sort of quarrel to lay down his life was

Burton, III., 389.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

not at all prepared in the other to sacrifice his living. The war of Scotland in defence of its independence through so many hundred years is unique in its way. The story so significantly told by the two Roman walls is the story of all the after history of Scotland. But Scotland lacked men who were patriots only, men whose object was to elevate the mass of the people and give them the standing in the relation to the privileged classes which it was their right to occupy. Fletcher of Saltoun had little in common with Hampden. Fletcher was a mere enthusiast, who, while he made good the claims of his country against the world, would have subjected one half of his countrymen to the unrestrained despotism of the other half. Hampden was the type of that personality so common in England that was quite as ready to do battle on behalf of the civil rights with the lord of the manor as to do battle with a foreign enemy. We have no equivalent in Scotland to the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, or the Habeas Corpus Act; we have no Hampdens, Russells, and Sidneys. Where we can see the Scots emulating the English in this respect is in the fight for their religion. Their religion alone strengthened their character where it most needed strength, and enabled them to struggle against their native monarchs and the aristocracy of the country, backed by all the power of the State, for more than a hundred years.

ART. VII.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF STUPIDITY.

AMONG ordinary human failings we doubt if there be one which so sorely taxes the patience and forbearance of all who are forced into constant association with it as stupidity. Most of those defects of character or disposition whereby human beings contrive to render themselves moral blisters to their fellow creatures are intermittent, stupidity is chronic. Whether the victim of this chronic complaint is personally a conscious sufferer therefrom, in any way, it would be difficult to find out. It would be highly interesting to submit him to a severe and

searching examination on the point—to say to him, ‘You are a remarkably stupid person; is this indisputable fact a source of any annoyance or discomfort to you?’ but it would not be civil, and it might not be safe. Nature appears sometimes to be smitten with remorse when she has unduly weighted some hapless being with disadvantages, and then atones by thrusting in some strong compensating advantage, and it not unfrequently happens that muscular power is in inverse ratio to brain power. The person thus unpleasantly interviewed might take it into his head to demonstrate that if his intellect was not brilliant, his physical force was considerable. Well developed muscles have great convincing power in argument. But however much we may remain in ignorance on this point, the fact that a thoroughly stupid person is a source of weariness and woe to everyone who has the misfortune to be connected with him is one which no one will be likely to dispute.

There seem to be, in a thoroughly stupid character, no redeeming points, for the very sufficient reason that there are no points at all. The very essence of complete stupidity is negation all round. In so far as a stupid person has any distinct characteristic, he ceases within that range to be stupid. The only approach to a positively developed characteristic which is common enough in stupid people to warrant it being held as naturally belonging to the character, is a sort of dull obstinacy; and even that is, after all, more frequently manifested in the negative form of a dogged determination *not* to do something, than in the positive one of a determination to *do* something. Stupid people will rarely be found manifesting anything approaching steady resolution in a positive form save under the influence of irritation, aroused by some resented opposition.

There is also an appalling catholicity about stupidity, which increases its aggravating tendency. Most other failings affect only some special point of character. A jealous, a vindictive, an avaricious man, may be a most agreeable companion—though never a valuable friend—so long as nothing happens to rouse into activity his special evil tendency. But this is not the case with stupidity. It is not a characteristic, it is a pervading mental atmosphere. It wraps the whole individual, at all times and

in all places, in the shrouding mantle of the bore. The one faint ray of commendation with which it is possible to illuminate the terrible oppressiveness of a thoroughly stupid person is the admission that under any abnormally irritating circumstances he is frequently found to be less positively disagreeable than more popular people. Where they are apt to lose their tempers, and become actively obnoxious, his stupidity only seems to grow a little more dense; and it must be allowed that he will often manifest a placid resignation to the inevitable, to which his more lively neighbour cannot manage to school himself.

It is a significant proof of the sentiments inspired by stupidity that, pure and simple, it has never been, as far as we can remember, a phase of character illustrated by either dramatists or novelists. When stupidity appears on the stage, or in fiction, it is always stupidity assumed for a special purpose, as in the amusing farce of 'High Life below Stairs;' or else it is pretty strongly spiced with knavery. We cannot recall a single instance in which any writer has attempted to depict stupidity absolutely unadulterated. This, be it remembered, is a wholly different thing from silliness, although, in our common tendency to looseness of phraseology, we very often confound the two. Silly people are by no means always stupid. They often possess a sort of superficial sharpness and liveliness which renders them not wholly devoid of attractiveness, so long as you have not too much of it and do not lean too hard upon it; while even their absurdities are sometimes amusing. But stupidity never either rises to liveliness, or sinks to absurdity. It pounds steadily on along a dead monotonous level of unredeemed tediousness.

In every possible relation of domestic or social life, stupidity is a cause of heart-sinking and dismay. How many a sleepless night does the stupid son of the family cost the parents who foresee his absolute incapacity ever to grapple successfully with the hard problem of securing for himself even a place at all in the running of the overcrowded race of nineteenth-century life! He is at the very antipodes of the brilliant genius of the family, who might be anything, could his intellect be persuaded to do something more than explode occasionally in fireworks of startling brilliancy, leaving the intervening darkness only the darker by

contrast. The one could be anything would he only try, the other could never be anything however hard he might try. But then, in the former case, there is always the hope that some sharp lesson may startle the meteor-like intellect, ere it is too late, into resignation of its dazzling fireworks in favour of a more persistent, if less brilliant illumination. In the latter case there is nothing to hope for. If the stupid one be a daughter the case is quite as bad. Her hopeless incapacity to manage her own affairs, if left finally to face the world without the guardianship of the husband she is not likely to attract, is a little less dismal subject for parental contemplation.

In the family circle, too, these stupid ones are a terrible thorn in the flesh, always dull and prosaic, always mentally several yards in the rear of everyone else; spending, apparently, the time during which a subject is in hand in laborious meditation, and then wanting it explained to them when everyone else has done with it; not infrequently, either, resenting any impatience manifested, by posing as martyrs.

In social life, stupid people are nightmares to their acquaintances. There is no legitimate excuse to be found for not sending them invitations which they are only too sure to accept. Was ever a very stupid person known to be ill or engaged when reluctantly invited to some gathering, the enjoyment of which his presence is certain to mar to a great extent? Festivities on a very large scale, where numbers would render him comparatively harmless, he may manage to miss; but where his presence is specially detrimental, there he is sure to be. Then luckless hosts or hostesses can but groan inwardly, and prepare as best they may to run the gauntlet of the indignant reproaches of infuriated partners at dinner-tables, or in ball-rooms.

Worse still is the dread necessity, which will sometimes arise, for asking a stupid acquaintance to pay a visit of some days' duration. How the leaden hours of those dreary days drag out their interminable length, when the heavy burden was to be carried, if not actually from dawn till dusk, from the breakfast hour until very long after dusk. But worst of all is the reverse of the medal, the need to pay a visit to a stupid family, where dull decorum reigns over a mental and moral world without form

and void. Stupid guests are as a fog: stupid entertainers are a darkness that may be felt.

Were it possible to perceive that these terrible taxes on the patience and forbearance of the community subserved any useful end in the economy of life, it would be easier to bear with them; but, unless it may be that they act in some measure as a drag upon the much-bewailed tendency of things to go too fast, it is difficult to discover any useful function which they fulfil.

Stupid people, it need hardly be said, can never see a joke. They will grin or giggle in an inane way over some nonsense in which an intelligent child would hardly find amusement, and wonder why people laugh at some perfect witticism. That sort of good-humoured banter commonly known as 'chaff,' than which, if judiciously used, there is often no more valuable means for tidying over ugly phases of circumstances, is as foreign to their nature as the contortions of an acrobat to a plethoric alderman. If they do attempt it, they generally succeed in being offensively rude; and if they are the objects of it, they are pretty sure to resent it with either sulks or tears.

The attempts of stupid people to repeat good stories which they have heard are really curious psychological studies, as illustrative of human capacity for accurate reception of sound, coupled with absolute imperviousness to sense. They will repeat the story correctly enough, but if the point happens to depend upon any special emphasis, place the emphasis on exactly the wrong word, or make some trifling change which renders the whole story unintelligible as a joke. We chanced once to be present when a very stupid and pompous man undertook to tell the well-known story about 'the Hannah' or 'the Anna.' He told the story correctly enough, with the saving clause that he substituted the name 'Emma.' Some one present was rash enough to correct him, pointing out that the judge could hardly have asked in all seriousness whether the name of the vessel was 'the Emma' or 'the Hemma'; whereas he might naturally ask if it was 'Hannah' or 'Anna'; whereupon, with much pomposity, he replied, 'Pardon me; but when I tell you that I had the story from ———, who was in the Court at the time, I think you will see that I must be rightly informed. It was "Emma" or

"Hemma." These are the sort of people who, if you make a jesting remark, will either gravely ask if you really mean it, or begin seriously to expound their reasons for thinking that you must be mistaken.

Another peculiarity of stupid people is a total incapacity to perceive relative values. It may be remembered by many that Archbishop Whateley held the possession, mentally, of both weights and scales to be a rare gift, and one which lifted the possessor to high intellectual position; but he was considering the difference between a common and an uncommon order of mind. In treating of the subject as it concerns absolutely stupid people, however, the difference is probably one of degree, rather than of kind. To fair intelligence the difficulty only begins when the weighing against each other of strong arguments on opposite sides of a subject is in question. Thorough stupidity has little or no perception of relative values in the most glaringly disproportionate cases. The appearance of some friend or acquaintance in complimentary mourning will set a family of stupid people pondering seriously for a whole day. What distance of relationship does the mourning indicate? or does it suggest only friendship? Should a wife wear deeper mourning for her own grandmother's second husband, than for her husband's own grandfather? etc. These and a dozen other cognate questions will be ponderously discussed and be perpetually breaking out afresh, after spells of earnest and solemn reflection, and just the same amount of solemn attention will be bestowed on some gravely important family affair, or some tremendous political or social crisis.

Absolute inability ever to change an opinion or resign a belief once planted in the mind is another peculiarity of stupid people. The only thing harder than to plant an idea firmly in such a mind, is to get it out again. You may prove to demonstration that something believed to be a fact is a mere fiction, or that some opinion is manifestly erroneous, but your labour is lost. The correction may be accepted for the moment, and the error admitted; but in a short space you will find your convert as fully as ever convinced of the fact, and steadfast in the opinion. Stupidity rarely holds on, but it *never* lets go. This tendency

would appear to be the only explanation of the marvellous fact that there still exist people who believe in the Tichborne claimant. They managed to drift into an opinion in the earlier stages of the controversy, and they are absolutely incapable of ever getting rid of that opinion. It is doubtful whether the impostor's own confession, coupled with the appearance of the true man, would enable them to shake off their conviction.

Stupidity has, however, much further reaching consequences than the infliction of mere irritation or boredom. Beyond the sphere of domestic or social life its results are often gravely disastrous, sometimes—and who shall venture to say how often—tragical. In bringing about such results the inability of stupidity to perceive relative values plays a very important part. A stupid person will hesitate about sending a telegram because it will be an expensive one, utterly unable to give due weight to the fact that the issues at stake are worth fifty times the value of the message, and with all his faculties fixed upon the expense of the telegram will determine to trust to sending a letter; in consequence of which decision the hapless victim of his misplaced economy perhaps makes an expensive journey to no purpose, or suffers even more serious loss.

Reflecting further upon the characteristics of stupidity, we feel almost disposed to revoke as rash the assertion that it is purely negative. One positive capacity stupid people do possess in a measure so transcendent that it almost seems to amount to inspiration. Certainly years of patient study would fail to enable the most powerful intellect to attain anything like the same measure of perfection. Ingenuity in blundering, and in always making that particular blunder which is, in the circumstances, the most disastrous possible, is a faculty which the stupid possess in a wholly unsurpassable degree. It is this faculty especially which enables them to assert their importance in the economy of things, by making most magnificent havoc of all sorts of arrangements. If they are responsible for arrangements, they will very probably carefully settle a number of minute and unimportant details, and then, so to speak, entirely forget the pivot on which the whole thing turns, so that the beautiful fabric of carefully ordered details is left sprawling in helpless incompleteness. If a

stupid person has to deliver an important message, his sins may be either of omission or commission. He may leave out the most important part wholly and entirely, or he may deliver the whole message, pieced together after a new and ingenious method of his own devising, often enough sufficiently plausible to prevent you from suspecting the transformation which has taken place until you find it out by the total collapse of all the arrangements the message was intended to facilitate. We have heard of a stupid hostess issuing invitations for a large dinner-party for one day, and ordering the dinner her guests were invited to eat for another. Such an episode partakes more of the ludicrous than the serious, but if all the mishaps in this world which are due to some one's stupidity could be traced to their true cause, we will venture to affirm that an appalling list of serious disasters would be unrolled. The amount of deaths which, in the course of the year, are occasioned simply by utter stupidity would reach a formidable figure. The daily papers teem with proof of the frequency with which epidemics are spread, illnesses rendered fatal, or fatal accidents caused, merely by stupidity.

But to what does all this tend? may be fairly asked. No one will deny that stupid persons are wearisome, irritating, even dangerous at times; but what is the use of enlarging upon an irremediable nuisance? Is it irremediable, absolutely and altogether? It is not to be supposed that we can, either by a surgical or any other sort of operation, transform stupid into intelligent people; but what if we are constantly at work cultivating the breed for the future woe and bewilderment of ourselves and our descendants? What is the cause of stupidity? If the question be asked regarding any other mental or moral characteristic, it would be hard perhaps to find a satisfactory answer. What is the cause of a tendency to jealousy—to avarice—to sullenness? It would be hard to say. But then these are certainly moral characteristics, while stupidity is merely a mental one. In the case of other mental characteristics, however, it would be hard to trace them to their source. We should be puzzled how to set about it if we wished to produce them. But we should be in no great doubts how to produce stupidity, if we wished to do so; and it is pro-

bably no rash assertion that a very large amount of the stupidity with which our souls are vexed is an artificial product, carefully manufactured—a scourge for our backs prepared by our own industrious hands.

It is a well-known fact that the rapidity of communication between the senses and the brain is by no means uniform. Set two persons, whose range of sight has been carefully tested, to watch for and report the sudden appearance of some distant object, and it will often happen that the report from the one will be perceptibly in advance of that from the other. This is a fact of which all who have ever been members or conductors of an orchestra or a choir, will be painfully aware. The response to the conductor's baton is not equally prompt throughout, and an amount of energetic action which will keep the slow members up to time, will soon necessitate a warning to their quicker companions not to hurry. In this fact alone there is ample cause for a certain amount of apparent stupidity. Only let the rapidity of communication be very markedly below the average, and the sufferer will be always, and in everything, mentally toiling in the rear of circumstances. Conversation, the routine of every day life, be it in matters domestic, social, or of business, are always ahead of him; and under any circumstances, where it is necessary he should in some way be brought up to time, a special explanatory appendix must always be provided for his individual use.

We have purposely used the expression *apparent* stupidity, however, for these sort of people, given that the brain when reached is really worth anything, are sometimes far from really stupid. Only give them time, and they will often arrive at decisions, or enunciate opinions which are very far from any taint of stupidity. Their stupidity merely arises from the fact that circumstances will rarely pause long enough to allow them to get any firm hold upon them. It is when the senses transmit their impressions slowly to a dull inactive brain, that we are face to face with genuine stupidity. Impressions transmitted by eye or ear drift slowly into a misty chaos, and are either irretrievably swamped, or only re-appear in disjointed and misleading fragments. In fact, the doggedness with which

a very stupid, but thoroughly truthful person, will sometimes maintain that he never received some piece of information which half a dozen independent witnesses are ready to declare they heard given to him, would almost suggest the possibility that sometimes the sense impressions perish out of hand before they even reach the brain at all.

That dull brains and sluggish senses are in many cases inherent defects, will no more admit of question than that some constitutions are naturally robust, others delicate; but that a vast deal of vexing stupidity is the product of unhealthy conditions of life, is an equally patent fact; as also that those conditions tend greatly to aggravate the inherent tendency where it exists. Given fairly good health to start with, we suspect it would not be very easy to find very stupid people among the ranks of those who have been in childhood fairly well clothed, and nourished, and allowed to lead a free, natural, and healthy life. Seek them among the ranks of those who have been carefully cooped up in hot nurseries and schoolrooms, accorded a minimum of fresh air and exercise, and a maximum of teaching, and you will find them by scores.

The present education craze is rather a dismal subject of contemplation from this point of view. Although during the recent correspondence in the papers on the subject of overpressure in schools, the evidence, as far as the specific accusation was concerned, seemed rather to break down, we think the fact remains that more is required of the children than is good for their physical health, or their future intellectual capacity. There is no stupidity like that of the over-educated person—education, of course, conventionally means simply cramming—and among all classes, now, that artificially manufactured stupidity is, we suspect, being largely cultivated for the benefit of posterity. ‘Do not pile so many books on your head that your brains have no room to move,’ said a wise man. If that be the result of piling books on a fully developed brain, what must be the result of piling them on a young growing brain? and we shall have to make a good many changes in our general system of education, so called, before it comes to much more than doing this. A friend of the present writer

once lamented to a celebrated German professor over having a bad memory. 'Do not regret it,' was the reply; 'people with very great memories are generally stupid.' Are they stupid for any other reason than that they have a larger capacity for crushing down their luckless brains under a ponderous load of books?

This possibility of artificially producing stupidity is the special reason why the defect is worth careful attention. We seem to be able to approach the mental characteristic from the physical side more directly than in any other case. If unhealthy conditions of life, with over-pressure of a growing brain, tend to produce stupidity, it naturally follows that where there is an inherent tendency in this direction, the best chance of lessening it must lie in careful cultivation of the healthiest possible conditions of life, and increasing vigilance with regard to the amount of weight laid upon the brain. When this desirable result is fully achieved, the number of helpless burdens hanging on to more intelligent humanity will be largely decreased, and recruits for the noble army of bores, blunderers, and moral blisters, will be far less numerous than at present.

ART. VIII.—THE SCOTCH DISESTABLISHMENT VOTE.

WHAT ought those who seek Disestablishment to do at the polls, is a question of present duty simple enough, though often uneasily mixed up with questions of the relations of party to Liberalism, of the authority of leaders, the significance of their manifestoes and speeches, the function of Parliament, and what it may, can, or must take up as matters of legislation at ensuing sessions. One thing should be clear, that leaders exist for followers, not the rank and file for the staff; that Parliament is the national legislature, not the preserve of party; that Parliament is for the people, not the people for Parliament.

Let no one embarrass himself by anxieties about Parliament, and party, and leaders. These will duly adjust themselves to

electoral issues. First and foremost are the right and duty of electors. If Government is to be representative, intelligently reflective of the popular sense of equity, the popular mind must be expressed. Any attempts, from whatever quarter, to suppress or distort or enfeeble that expression are a mockery of public rights; and any voluntary humility of self-effacement is worse than a feeble surrender, it is a sacrifice of justice.

The advice is still whispered and otherwise urged in some quarters, to sink the Disestablishment question at this election. It will be remembered how its friends were told by the advocates of this policy in 1880 that when the people were further enfranchised then would be the time to deal with it. The enfranchisement has taken place, but the time is not yet allowed by these persons to be come for pressing its claims. One General Election passes after another, and Dissenters are still expected to waive their rights. Surely this ought to end. If aught is fit to be free, and ought to be left under equal laws without civil fetter or privilege, it is religion—it is Christianity; and if people are entitled to be jealous of their equality before the law, it is in matters of conscience. Is it reasonable that non-established Churches and citizens should go handicapped in the race of free enterprise by the opposition and competition of a State Church all over the land, and that they should perpetually be asked to wait for some convenient season which never comes? Is it to be tacitly assumed that there are always questions of superior urgency on hand requiring Disestablishment to stand aside, or that its friends were made to be the thankful hacks of all Liberal candidates and party? It is neither decent nor tolerable that its character as a question of justice should be forgotten, or that it should be treated as a fancy grievance which can safely afford to wait. It may well be asked, In what interest is this rather wearisome game of political delay and evasion played? Who gain by it? Not Liberals, and not the Liberal leaders; and certainly Liberalism suffers, as it has only suffered, with its leaders, since the abandonment of the just policy of Religious Equality adopted in 1868, as a last resort, to pacify Ireland. The leaders are undoubtedly much to blame for any difficulties of the party, in Scotland or elsewhere, on the subject of the State Church, only

less to blame, in the first instance, than the false conductors of opinion whom they trusted, and the foolish contingent of supporters who, instead of stoutly asserting their rights, echoed, cuckoo-like, the imposing cry of 'unity,' while taking no guarantees for the question of justice. The easy prey of party wire-pullers, these have contributed to the delusion out of which both leaders and penitent supporters, not too soon, begin to awake.

The timidity and folly of men who leave their interests to the politicians without asserting them at the poll, have made arduous both to friendly leaders and more firm electors what might have been since 1868 a fairly smooth and rapid course to Disestablishment. The 'Liberal Churchman' in Scotland, a shadow and scarecrow to those who know him, now posing in his last ditch, has been master of the situation. The Kirk has obtained renewal of a lease of existence from one Parliament to another, and its friends are now engaged in a fresh attempt to secure that the question they dread shall not be touched during next Parliament. Kirk candidates professing Liberalism are brought into the field to make phrases with this view. These gentlemen seek what capital they can out of the silence or utterances of leaders. One presumes to say that Mr. Gladstone has withdrawn the question by his Manifesto, another that Mr. Chamberlain deprecates its use as a test and believes its solution impossible next Parliament, and a third that Lord Rosebery, who should know, pronounces the country not ripe for it. From all which data, correct or incorrect, the grateful conclusion is drawn that it can have no place in pending issues, which means that the credulous ranks of Disestablishment ought again to vote for men who play with their rights and interests because they name themselves Liberals.

If all were true which is thus alleged of the Liberal leaders by trimmers or incapables of the party, it would not therefore follow that Disestablishment ought not everywhere to be insisted upon in the elections, or that it should be excluded from the dealing of next Parliament, but the contrary. Parliament is Parliament, and will be what the people make it under the Constitution. It will be, as it must be, open to deal with all questions, foreseen or unforeseen, welcome or unwelcome to sections, and whether included or otherwise in programmes of leaders. Mr. Gladstone

and Mr. Chamberlain are too wise to dream of the attempted autocracy imputed to them of ruling out any question from Parliament which the country marks with its vote or which seeks settlement as a claim of equity. They are entitled to say what they are willing to undertake or may think most fitting to be taken up in the first instance. They project for their followers a possible or probable programme, subject to the contingency of modifications suggested by the public voice, and especially the final electoral vote. When that is ascertained, and not till then, will Mr. Gladstone be able to judge in more definite detail what may best become the programme of early sessions, or whether he may be able to execute the electoral mandate. If unable to fall in with the popular decision as expressed by its vote, he will yield place to those who are prepared to give it effect. It is in the last degree improbable either that a Tory ministry can continue in office, or that Mr. Gladstone, if returned to power, as the nation expects, and with a triumphant majority, as Liberals desire and believe, will make a difficulty as to accepting the policy favoured by the general body of his supporters in Parliament or the country.

The Manifesto issued by the great leader is not the language of a confession of faith to which the body of Liberals are sworn, as ministers of the Established Church are taken bound to hold and teach the creed of the State. The fundamentals of Liberalism are assumed as known and held, and the Manifesto only gives expression to its author's view of the application of some of these to existing circumstances, and that only in general outline, without exclusion of changes of matter or order which the development of opinion and events may call for, in harmony with principle. The Manifesto is not a document of finality but of progress, and the attempt to make it a statute of limitation for the party would be fatal, as it would be inconsistent with the purpose of its issue.

With reference to the question of Scotch Disestablishment, Mr. Gladstone has only recently in well-known letters of July 28th and October 9th, renewed the expression of his position, again identifying it with that of Lord Hartington, by which that question was practically referred to the sense of the Scotch electorate with the

engagement, in substance, on behalf of the party leaders, that this verdict should be accepted and the question dealt with apart from any considerations of the similar question in England. With the statements of the letters referred to, fresh in the public mind, the language of the Manifesto regarding the question in Scotland, and its rapid transition,—as passing from what had been otherwise well ‘probed and unfolded,’ to the question in England,—with the general purport of the reflections and observations of the veteran statesman, are hardly to be misinterpreted.

Yet some hotly seek to fix on the term ‘ulterior,’ used in the Manifesto, the sense of a period—far distant, of course, beyond next Parliament, and of an order rigid as Court precedence, or the laws of the Medes and Persians. It is too absurdly desperate. The ‘four great subjects’ are ‘only the vanguard of the host of subjects with which the coming Parliament and its successors will or may have to deal.’ The coming Parliament, it will be observed, is held liable to be required to deal with any portion of the host of which the questions of the House of Lords and the Established Church stand to the front. It is not for any one to predict the course of events or duration of the coming Parliament, and Mr. Gladstone is careful not to assume its incapacity or aversion to deal with any but selected questions of party, and least of all, to deal with a question so thoroughly ripe for handling as Scotch Disestablishment, which may favourably compare for maturity of discussion with any even of the ‘four.’ The language of the Manifesto on the subject retains the freedom and elasticity which is the spirit of the document, and in harmony with the latest Hawarden letter in which it is declared: ‘In offering advice to the party at large on what may be called a local Disestablishment, I have not anywhere attempted to fix a time or recommended a course for the action of bodies or persons.’

In any case, Scotch Disestablishment is before the country—before it by the too little obtruded reference of Lord Hartington accepted and just renewed by Mr. Gladstone, and irrespective of any act of leaders, by the irrepressible determination of the people. And now it is seen to blaze and burn where least expected.

Mr. Chamberlain’s letters explanatory of his Glasgow speech

sufficiently show that he meant, as he could mean no suggestion of limitation either of electoral or Parliamentary prerogative, in the close of his noble utterances on Disestablishment. His excessive tenderness to certain candidates presumed to be good Liberals, but opposed in conscience to Disestablishment, was obviously believed to apply to an extremely select and not numerous class, and was qualified by the caution that should a vote be given to such invaluable persons the strength of the Disestablishment feeling must otherwise and at all events be made evident. This does not come to much. If such feeling ought to be duly evidenced, electors will be safe in taking the straight course for that purpose by voting for the Disestablishment candidate, and not voting for any opponent of the measure.

This may be severely called by Whig organs, Making it a test question. Undoubtedly it is. We are not to be scared by a phrase. There are times when specific questions of large bearing on the deepest interests of liberty must be made test questions, not only when Governments or trusted leaders appeal on such subjects to the country, but when the country itself judges fit to give its broadest hints to a lagging leadership. Every elector votes before the highest tribunal of judgment, and he may not sell the birthright of his independence at the poll, or place his conscience in any party keeping. If party will not or cannot go forward in mass with leaders to urgent calls of legislation, those who believe in the legislative urgency must themselves advance to their object by the use of electoral power. So it was in the questions and struggles of the anti-slavery, the anti corn-laws, and earlier Reforms. So it must needs be with Disestablishment. We have reached one of those moments of transition and crisis in the history of party Liberalism when the mere routine of loyalty gives place to necessity. If this is to be a soldier's battle, the ranks behave to do their best. The command refuses to give instructions, and stands in a calculated or involuntary neutrality, and the soldier-electors can but act for himself. He sees that Disestablishment is menaced with being cut off from its base—that it is sought to be manœuvred out of the field of legislation. 'Liberal Churchmen' declare they will vote solid for the Kirk; and professed authorities on votes sagely report to head-

quarters that Disestablishment endangers union—while the world knows that only the Kirk is the schism; but as this means voting to exclude Disestablishment from ‘practical politics,’ the action must be met, as Mr. Chamberlain was careful to admit, by the counter vote of defence.

On no account whatever can it be permitted that any mistake shall this time occur as to the right of Disestablishment to its place and opportunities in Parliament. To shut it out is the whole meaning of the ‘Liberal Churchman’ move, which every friend of liberty is bound to resist. If there is no Liberal candidate to whom a Disestablishment vote can be given it is a local misfortune, but to give a vote to the anti-Disestablishment Liberal is to assist in giving the policy he represents a false strength in Parliament. In that case, as well as in that of the patent shuffler, abstention is both self-respect and sound wisdom. For a Tory no Disestablishment Liberal will vote, but should a Tory anywhere go in because of the lack of support to the anti-Disestablishment Liberal, the blame cannot lie with the elector who votes only with his conscience, but with the ignorance or unwisdom of local managers, who accept as candidates impossible men, or with the ill-advised, over-prolonged neutrality or virtual anti-Disestablishment policy of Liberal leaders, who fail to throw their influence on the side of the great mass of their followers, seeking only equal rights, and practically cast it in favour of existing abuse and privilege. The cry of wolf—the cry of letting in the Tories—has been used too often to be now impressive. Disestablishers do not ‘let in’ Tories, but they cannot keep two doors. Should a few seats go to Tories in consequence of enfeebled Liberal counsels, or a few favourite Whigs of ‘wet-blanket’ dignity be worsted in coming contests, Liberalism will sustain no loss; leaders and others, too engrossed with imaginary situations, or too exclusively attached to a mechanical unity, may receive a healthy surprise, and learn that the time has come to cease to exact Liberal unity at the sole expense of non-established Churches and citizens.

There are, of course, leaders and leaders. In the chief place sits—long may he sit there, exceptional in all his merits,—Mr. Gladstone, who may be seen severely endeavouring to maintain

an impossible equilibrium on the subject of Scotch Disestablishment. The question belongs to the people of Scotland, and therefore it cannot be touched by the supreme political authority, which is supposed to exercise a purely judicial function in determining the public sense. Such is the theory—the impossible theory—but what is the fact? Responsible colleagues roam the country, and write letters in which they take a side, and express opinions about the destiny of the question next Parliament, and the policy of using it as a test of political men. These distinguished spokesmen include themselves among the official neutrals. They say ‘we cannot prejudice or force it.’ ‘It is not for us to decide.’ At the same time Mr. Chamberlain decides—and we thank him for it—that were he a Scotch elector he would vote for Disestablishment, and Lord Rosebery, without meaning to ‘prejudice or force it,’ declares the country ‘not ripe for it.’ Whatever this may be called it is not exactly leaving the question to the people of Scotland. It is in fact the break-down of attempted official neutrality, and demonstrates that henceforth the Liberal lead must avow its choice between Disestablishment and the Kirk, and cease to hang like Mahomet’s coffin between heaven and earth.

This is not only a necessity of tactics; it is the demand of justice to the great masses of the Liberal party. This reference of Disestablishment to the people of Scotland in the obvious and just sense of the phrase, as meaning an appeal to the Scottish electorate in a question with a Scottish history, is not to be held as discharging Government or Liberal leaders of their responsibilities to the question, or candidates of their obligation to its honest treatment. A certain type of candidate may be heard with unctuous iteration declaring his deference to ‘the people of Scotland.’ Only let ‘the people of Scotland’ tell this devoted patriot what they want, and although, ecclesiastically, it should break his heart, he will vote for it. Or let the ‘nation’ but express its will, and another who believes in Religious Equality—in the abstract, but who dares not advocate an act of justice without knowing it to be acceptable to ‘the people of Scotland,’ will, with due assurance, by post cards or otherwise, boldly accede to the popular wish for its application.

The people of Scotland will doubtless settle the question, but not in provincial vestry. The question demands to be settled in the Imperial Parliament, and in conjunction with the legislative friends of justice. A Liberal Government is under obligation to initiate and support with all the constitutional strength at its command just legislation. It did not throw the question of the Irish Church upon the people of Ireland, studying a fearful neutrality, or declaring by its most popular voices Ireland not ripe.

Mr. Chamberlain wisely pronounces for Disestablishment, so long treated with official repression, and the people thank him from the heart. It is something to hear an unmuzzled minister, and it is a rare joy to find sympathy with their deepest questions. If Mr. Chamberlain forgot the rôle of Olympus, he remembered what was better than a high and dry neutrality, to cast his help on the side of long neglected right. Lord Rosebery, the most rising of our peers, and the youngest ex-minister, meaning to do nothing, but to do it well, really does something which he condemns. He would not 'prejudice' Disestablishment, but he does so. 'I do not believe the country is ripe for it, while I suspect the main result of raising it will be to further the Conservative prospects in the coming election.' This is not only a wet blanket, but a veritable cold *douche*, and all from a source which would leave the question to the people of Scotland. If the tribune of the people errs, it is on the side of liberty and equal rights—if the noble lord, it is on that of the hostile *status quo*. In any case the liberation of speech is welcome.

It seems forgotten that Disestablishment is a question of justice to the religious feelings and citizen rights of the non-Established Churches and citizens of Scotland and England, not less really than it was a question of justice in Ireland. A Presbyterian Dissenter, or ecclesiastically colourless citizen, is no less entitled to exemption from a State Church incubus and imposts, than a Roman Catholic in Connaught. It is not competent, and it is not usual, to suspend action on the question of justice, whether a half, three-fourths, or two thirds, or whatever other fraction of the nation, whether in Scotland or England, may be concerned in it, on the condition of the unanimity

of a miscellaneous people. Even in the face and teeth of opposition, it is customary to conceive of legislative justice as being possible, and the attempt to secure it as the honour of a great party. It is right to do right, and a strong Government or party ought to urge the cause even of local minorities with all the force of initiative and party power, as it did and has done more than once for Ireland. This is what is due to Scotland in the present matter. Scotland is a minority in Parliament, and not otherwise can it obtain any Scottish reform than by the Parliamentary organisation of the party of progress. It is not to be desired that it should adopt the Irish and Tory methods of enforcing attention.

We fully recognise the fact that all do not regard Disestablishment as a question of justice or of political urgency, or even expediency. Those who variously regard or directly oppose it, whether Tory or Liberal, are equally with others entitled to hold their opinions, and to take the political action they think fitting to vindicate these. It is no reply, however, to the plea of justice and urgency pressed in behalf of Disestablishment, to say that a contrary view is anywhere held among Liberals. It remains that no party with whatever leaders can subsist in unity with so serious a cleavage of principle and feeling in the ranks. They may err who think State Churches no blessing but the reverse, either to Church or State, and that they suffer wrong by the continuance of the system; they are not infallible in thinking the system incompatible with Liberalism, and unwisely and unjustly fostered by Liberal sufferance; but such is the case. These are their fully weighed convictions not easily to be shaken, and they mean to give them effect. There is now no place for compromise. Both parties have drawn the sword and cast away the scabbard. One thing is morally sure, that the friends of Disestablishment, whatever come, will never cease the lawful contest until the end is attained.

They also comfortably believe that public opinion is with them, and that the 'current' sets more imperiously forward than the Manifesto itself allows. They do not lay essential stress on numbers, but they can afford to let the Kirk nurse its numerical hopes.

The state of Scotch opinion has long been significantly evidenced. Recent 'Petitions' were the dying spasm of Privilege—a mushroom growth too rank, filling the waste-basket of Parliament. But if they were ever so valid—and amid the totals there could not fail to be multitudes of earnest-hearted signatures—they are at best the appeal of parties seeking the continuance of State favours, of sectarian preference, demanding in the name of religion the continued infliction on their neighbours of what they believe to be a national and a religious wrong. Modern Parliaments are shrewd enough to distinguish between petitions from privileged persons and for privilege—and petitions for redress from those who seek no favour, but only a fair field. A thousand men determined to obtain their rights of equality are more likely to succeed than a good many thousands to be heard by a people's Parliament, who crave that a national system of stipends, glebes, churches, and manses, should be maintained for the enjoyment of the rich and poor of a section of Presbyterians.

The whole case has been long displayed. Nothing sudden could possibly happen. The principle of civil establishments of religion has been working in Scotland for three hundred years. If 'fair trial' is spoken of, it has had it. It has notoriously, abjectly, broken down. For more than half that time its influence has been purely centrifugal. The Kirk has sent off its secessions and disruption masses with astronomical regularity. Ecclesiastically the severances are final. Politically there is no place for repentance. What the Kirk is, has been, or may become spiritually, we do not now inquire. The question is not the composing of a quarrel of Churches, or of the nobler combinations of the future. Eminent and patriotic men are found in all Churches, and work is before them which all history teaches can only be done in freedom. But whatever their efforts or future approximations, it will be the duty of the Legislature to afford them all the equal shield of the laws, and to terminate the anomaly of the Establishment.

The Liberal party cannot afford to stand by the National anomaly. The people are going for Liberalism rather than for a factitious unity. The union which is power will come by facing

the whole round of Liberal problems, and that whole hemisphere of the question of Church and State so long avoided. The 'understanding' or misunderstanding confessed by some unhappy members of Parliament which led to little better than the betrayal of the cause of Disestablishment at the election of 1880 and in the following Parliament, cannot now be repeated. But where this little history cannot fully repeat itself, every nerve is strained to find for the Kirk the next best to a Tory, a species of Whig or 'Liberal Churchman' candidate, who may be relied upon if returned to Parliament to drag heavily on the Church question, and gain time. This is not 1880, and the interval has taught its lessons. The friends of Disestablishment have learned more self-reliance and more mistrust. Firmness and straight voting are all now needed to secure Disestablishment its just place, with prejudice to no other cause.

They have waited patiently—during the retrogression of Party Liberalism, during the wasted years of the Tory interregnum, and during the six sessions of the closing Parliament and its powerful Government. They have waited fifty years. Our fathers of Dissent and popular rights contended and petitioned for the separation of Church and State. The present is no new 'agitation,' as some ignorantly or otherwise speak. It dates back beyond the political memory of most readers. It is older than the Liberalism of the late Treasury bench. Before the noblest convert to Liberalism of this generation was in a position to benefit the Liberal cause, the Dissenters of Scotland were laying deep the foundations of Liberalism in Church and State in the principles they held and practised and voted for. These pioneers were then the mainstay of the Liberalism of the country, as their descendants, with the powerful accessions of more recent allies, constitute its present strength, in affinity with the aspirations of the new electorate. We have waited long enough. Gainsay it who may, the question of Scotch Disestablishment is ripe for the handling of statesmanship. We do not say the Kirk leaders are ready for it. We do not intend to wait till they are ready. Seeking only rights, we do not think it just to be asked to wait for the

convenience of those who are interested in the retention of existing inequality. But the country is ready for it; the Churches are ready, and we have not learned in other questions of justice to wait for the convenience of all Tories or monopolists. Only let us who seek for Disestablishment now vote straight for it, and broader lines of unity shall emerge, and a nobler Liberalism.

Since the above was penned, an Address to the people of Scotland by the Committee of the General Assembly on Church Interests, has appeared. It contains the usual vulnerable statements. It starts with the assurance that the Kirk is now free, having 'eleven years' since acquired direct control in the choice of ministers. Enough to say that it is State-bound as ever, deriving its imperfect liberty from the concession of Parliament, not from innate or Divine sources of freedom. It confuses Christ's right to rule nations, which it identifies with His headship over the Church, with an assumed right of nations, in violation of that headship, to regulate matters of faith and worship, of which the support of the Church is one. It argues for the Kirk as a 'witness' to a doctrine which, if 'not disowned by any Church' in Scotland, may surely be witnessed to by the Kirk disestablished, as it will then be more scripturally illustrated. It caricatures the Disestablishment movement as one 'to sell the Parish Churches' (why not 'to the highest bidder'?), and 'to take away the old parochial funds,' etc., when it simply seeks to set the Kirk, uninjuriously, on its own feet, and let it pay its own way like its neighbours. It ascribes the movement, with persistent folly, to money and men in England, not willing to own the patent action of Scotland's Dissent and Free Churchism over its length and breadth, and the integral relations of Scottish citizenship with those who seek Church Liberation in the three Kingdoms, for which they have indivisibly laboured.

It appeals to prescription and the 'Treaty of Union,' forgetting that by no political union could the Scottish nation

mean to part with its religious liberty, or barter its rights in the living present.

It goes on to parade the supposed proofs of Kirk 'acceptance,' its members, its petitions, its marriage statistics, crediting the Kirk with killing Mr. Dick Peddie's Bill in three weeks, which missed discussion only through the block in Parliament, and still lives to reappear in all its principles.

The numerical weakness of the Kirk in 'certain parts' of the Highlands is cautiously owned. Much devotion, however, is said to exist in behalf of an Established Church, not '*as it is*,' but if we might fill up the wanting words, '*as it never will be*.'

Voluntaryism is duly disparaged, which, it does not occur to the writers to say, has done all the extension and mission work of the Establishment itself, and supplied a wide field of ordinances outside the Kirk—supplementing its lack of service in Highlands and Lowlands, and furnishing those 'dissatisfied' with 'the Established Church as it is' with the only religious services they will accept. Free education is denounced as a 'bribe,' while it should be well known that the question of the severance of Church and State stands, as it originated, on grounds totally independent of the more recent question.

The 'vitality' of religion is happily recognised in view of possible changes. At the same time 'vitality' does not seem to be enough, and the people of Scotland are asked, with awkward earnestness, whether they are prepared to face the alternative of 'religion in church and school thrown entirely on voluntary support?'

The address is strong upon the 'teinds,' the *pons asinorum* of the discussion. The pious ancestor, who has little indeed to do with the modern property so-called, which derives its form and value from legislation, and less to do with the arbitrary ratings for manses and church fabrics, is credited with the merit of these mysterious sources of national religion, which 'do not cost the people anything,' and are 'in no sense a tax,' ye' undoubtedly burden lands to the extent of their value in the interest of the Kirk.

Religious Equality is said to be 'gross injustice.' Dissenters will not take their share of spoil, and would debar others.

To all bred in the school of monopoly and imperious privilege this is intolerable. Yet Dissenters have a right to their own views of the proper relations of Church and State. They have an equal right with others to seek to influence equitably the disposal of national resources, and to give their voice for the removal of the Church from the land, the rates, or the taxes, and for the liberation of locked-up endowments, now exclusively allotted. And they have a right to a fair field for their Christian enterprise, which they have not now while the State bestows teinds and fruits of rates and public grants on favoured propagandists.

The document ends with the practical application. It does not meddle with 'general politics,' only with particular. It urges that no vote be given to any Disestablishment candidate who will not promise to return for a fresh mandate should the question arise in Parliament. This is the move above referred to in full form. Mr. Goschen synchronises with it in his speech of the 7th October, prior to the Hawarden letter. He sublimely leaves all to the people of Scotland; only not now. They must not at present express their will. He professes to agree with Mr. Gladstone, and forgets that he is not Mr. Gladstone. The attempt is evidently by an assumed indubitable, really a forced, construction of the Manifesto, or otherwise, to create an understanding with the effect of compact that Disestablishment shall be excluded practically from pending issues—except on one side—and from next Parliament. Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird. Those who flutter themselves into the hands of the 'Liberal Churchman' candidate, or trust Mr. Goschen's limed twig, will be the simplest of their kind, and any responsible leadership which would connive at the policy of such supporters would betray the rights of the electorate, and forfeit the confidence of all friends of Religious Equality. Lord Salisbury, at Newport, takes his stand for the State Church, and the Liberal lead is distinctly challenged. The response begins well. Lord Derby, at Blackburn, finally abandons the Established Church system, only delaying execution in England 'for the moment,' that the bigness of the task might not preclude all

other business, but plainly giving up Scotland and Wales to an early dealing. Let the Liberalism of Scotland reply, to all concerned, by its Disestablishment vote.

GEO. C. HUTTON.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament. By EBERHARD SCHRADER, D.D., Ph.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Berlin. Translated from the second enlarged German Edition, with an Introductory Preface by the Rev. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A. Vol. I. London : Williams and Norgate. 1885.

Dr. Schrader's name is too widely and too favourably known in connection with Assyriology and with Old Testament criticism for any work coming from his pen to require commendation in order to obtain attention. If students of Scripture who are unacquainted with German have not hitherto been able to know at first hand on what his reputation rests, they have at least seen abundant reference to his works, and read the warm acknowledgments of English scholars of their indebtedness to his labours. This work, now being translated, has been so often noticed of late, and its value so highly appraised, that we do not doubt it will be eagerly sought after by all who wish to know to what extent the recent discoveries in Babylonia and Assyria have shed light on the books of the Old Testament and the History of Israel. That they have shed light on these every one knows. No writer on biblical subjects overlooks the fact; and not a few popular authors among ourselves have sought to set this and that page of Scripture in the full blaze of that light. No one, however, has done for us what Professor Schrader has done for the German people in the work before us. It is fully twelve years now since the first edition of the work appeared, but the plan he follows in this edition is the same as that he adopted then, and the difference between the two simply marks the difference between the knowledge gained then and that gained now from the cuneiform inscriptions. The number of these latter recovered since 1872 is very great, and Assyriology in all its branches has made immense advances in the interval. Dr. Schrader takes up the Old Testament, and, beginning with the first page of the book of Genesis, goes through it book by book, and whether it be a word or geographical name, the name of a tribe or people, a narrative, a historical event, or whatever it may be, on which the Assyrian language or the Assyrian inscriptions throw any light, he brings that light to bear on it, and shows us how it

appears in it. Professor Whitehouse has not only added to the value of this English edition by prefacing the work with an excellent account of the author's position as a critic, and his labours in the field of Old Testament exegesis, but has given explanatory notes and addenda which adapt it to the wants of the general reader, however little skilled in the technicalities of criticism. There is only one thing which will be likely to provoke him, and that is the almost constant reference for the further elucidation of a subject to Professor Schrader's other works. The English reader, for whom this work is intended, is only annoyed by such references, and if Professor Whitehouse had translated, say, the paragraphs in which the elucidation or defence of the opinions in question is given, and made a footnote of them, he would have still further enhanced the value of this edition. Will he take the hint, and add these to the addenda of the second volume, inserting a slip to guide the reader in paging the first volume with the needful references to them? We may add that his translation, so far as we have been able to compare it with the original, is excellent.

The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom, Traced in its Historical Development. By C. VON ORELLI. Translated by the Rev. J. S. BANKS. Edinburgh: T. & T. CLARK, 1885.

For many years and centuries it was the custom in the Christian Church to read the Old Testament Scriptures almost, if not exclusively, so far at least as they were supposed to relate to the advent and work of Christ, by the light of the New Testament writings. Any attempt to understand their purely historical significance was rarely made. The facts recorded in the New Testament were supposed to have been minutely described beforehand, and the chief concern of commentators was to find some words of the Hebrew writers in which they could be supposed to have been foretold. History, in fact, was read backwards, and as Mr. Banks observes in his 'Translator's Note,' a weight of meaning was put upon Old Testament passages which they were too weak to bear. Since the appearance of the new school of Biblical interpretation this method has been gradually falling into disrepute and by scientific theologians is now completely discarded. The plan now adopted is to ascertain as far as possible the significance which the Hebrew prophecies had in the mouths of those who uttered them and the meaning they would convey to the prophets' contemporaries, and then to show whether, and if so, in what manner they were subsequently fulfilled. The merits of this method are obvious. It is at once more rational and instructive. The student is placed as nearly as he can be in the circumstances under which the prophecies were spoken, and is enabled therefore to appreciate their significance much more clearly. At the same

time he obtains a much more accurate, because much more profound, conception of what prophecy really was. Of this new method of interpretation Professor von Orelli's treatise is a well known and highly appreciated example. While learned and not uninfluenced by the modern spirit, it is cautious and pervaded by a distinct effort to prove the continuity of Scripture. Prophecy, Dr. Orelli defines as 'the product of prophesying;' and the act of prophesying he attributes to the special or extraordinary influence of the Holy Spirit upon the mind of the prophet. The work of the prophet he describes as twofold: perceptive and productive. In other words, the prophet is one who sees and speaks; perceiving, on the one hand, what God discloses to him; and on the other, speaking for Him; one, in fact, who 'is the organ through which the Invisible One speaks audibly to His people. The subject of biblical prophecy is, of course, the Kingdom of God under which term Dr. Orelli includes the Person and Work of the Messiah. Beginning, therefore, with Gen. i. 26-30, he follows the development of prophecy through the whole of the Old Testament, describing the circumstances under which the prophetic words were uttered, explaining their significance, indicating the unity underlying them, and showing finally that their 'fulfilment has taken place in unanticipated glory.' As might be expected, many historical and exegetical questions are started on which there is a variety of opinions. Into these, however, we cannot enter. It must suffice to say that Dr. Orelli discusses them with great learning and acumen, controverted opinions are stated with fairness, and, taken as a whole, the work may be commended to the student as full of instruction and well calculated to give him more intelligent views and a more genuine appreciation of the great and indeed wonderful subject with which it deals.

Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity. Delivered in London and Oxford in April and May, 1885. By OTTO PFLEIDERER, D.D. Translated by J. FREDERICK SMITH. London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

Professor Pfleiderer was early attracted by the critical works of the so-called Tübingen School to the study of St. Paul's theology and its influence on the thought and life of the Church. The subject has evidently not lost for him any of its former interest and attractiveness, though his recent contributions to its literature, and these Lectures, show that his researches of late have not resulted in much that is new, or that leads him to modify to any appreciable degree the opinions he gave expression to twelve years ago in his masterly work, *Der Paulinismus; Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der urchristlichen Theologie*. English readers were made familiar with this work in 1878, by its translation in the 'Theological Translation

Fund Library.' In these lectures Dr. Pfleiderer goes over much the same ground in much the same order as he did in that larger work, and, in fact, does little more here than present in brief the conclusions there come to and defended. The lectures, however, have a value of their own; for Dr. Pfleiderer here treats the subject with constant reference to critics who have written since 1873, and devotes a special lecture (Lecture VI.) to the influence of St. Paul's writings on the history of the Church up to our own times. He has no sympathy with those who, like Professor Eduard von Hartmann, exalt Paul at the expense of Jesus, giving the former the credit of being the true founder of the Christian faith. He admits that Paul had much to do with the inception and development of the doctrinal system that came to prevail in the Church, but rightly traces the genesis of the Christian religion to the teaching, the spirit, and the personal influence of Him whom Paul gloried in calling Master and Lord. It is his object here to show how and to what extent Paul's influence has affected the creed and polity of the Christian Church, but he is careful throughout to distinguish between the spirit of life in it which comes from Christ and is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, and the doctrinal body of varied and varying elements which in the course of Christian history it has assumed. These lectures will be read by all with interest, for Professor Pfleiderer is not only master of his subject and a graceful and lucid writer, but is, above all things, a reverent critic, and treats opinions that may differ from his own with the utmost respect. The translation is excellent, and was not only made under the author's personal superintendence, but was that which he used in delivering the lectures in London and Oxford.

The Religion of Philosophy, or the Unification of Knowledge, a Comparison of the Chief Philosophical and Religious Systems of the World, made with a view to reducing the Categories of Thought, or the most General Terms of Existence, to a single Principle, thereby establishing a true Conception of God. By RAYMOND S. PERRIN. London: Williams & Norgate, 1885.

If the title of a book could ensure its success the work before us ought to have a tremendous sale. What can be more attractive than what is here offered us? *The Religion of Philosophy*—the religion to which philosophy leads us, and which can be justified to, and by, the philosophic mind. Who can hear of such a religion and not hasten to the feet of the prophet who proclaims it, or purchase the book that expounds it? *A true conception of God*—is not this what all men are hungering and thirsting after? what the human mind and heart have everywhere, and throughout all ages since the birth of thought in man, been in eager quest of? The reading public,

however, has learned by sad experience to be on its guard against title-page promises, and when they seem ultra-extravagant to hold them all the more in suspicion. Mr. Perrin, we think, vastly over-estimates the nature and results of his discoveries. There are many excellent things in his book ; many admirable sentiments admirably expressed. He has evidently read widely, if not deeply, and has kept himself, in some measure, abreast of the scientific thought of the day. He is much interested in the social problems which are vexing the minds of all the rightly disposed in all civilized countries, and longs to find a means of curing the ills that afflict the body corporate. It is this spirit of sympathy and benevolence which has prompted him to devote himself to the studies which have led to the volume before us. But while we applaud his motive we regret that we cannot praise very highly this outcome of it. Much of his book we could have well spared. His review of the chief systems of philosophy is little better than a weak version of Lewes' 'History.' His exposition of Herbert Spencer and of G. H. Lewes has not much either to commend it. His happiest achievement is his assault on the Agnostics' assumption of an 'Unknowable.' Again, his review of the chief religious systems of the world adds nothing to what all the world is now familiar with. It was surely hardly worth the trouble of writing so much to tell us so little, as that all metaphysical philosophers have been led astray by mistaking words for things, and all Positivists by an initial misapprehension of the nature of Perception ; and that all religions have failed (because they have been religions of faith and not philosophy) to satisfy the human mind and affect for good the human character and life. The great bulk of Mr. Perrin's work, however, is taken up ostensibly with proving this to us. But what is the nature of the Religion he offers us ? Its creed seems a very brief one. God is the 'Universal Principle.' As, according to the conclusions of our most advanced scientists, all our knowledge is knowledge of motion, therefore, so far as we are concerned, motion is the ultimate fact. In us it manifests itself as action. Morality, therefore, equals right conduct ; and right conduct, religion. There is no future life. We live for ever only in our influences. Is this a new religion ? Yet it seems to be all that Mr. Perrin has to offer to us. We may add that Mr. Perrin is not very sanguine as to the success of his new evangel, but he makes a pathetic appeal to the women of America (Mr. P. seems to be resident in Chicago) to aid him in spreading the knowledge of it, and to train up their children in its principles. Is Mr. Perrin familiar with the sex ? or are the American women not as other women are ? The last chapter (but one) of the book is by far and away the best, and is an eloquent exposition of the *science of morality*. The work is well printed, but surely an ordinarily wakeful reader could not have allowed such a confusion of the text as appears at 430-432 to escape his notice.

Grammatical Analysis of the Book of Psalms. By ROBERT YOUNG, LL.D. Edinburgh: G. A. Young & Co., 1885.

Dr. Young has done much for the better understanding of the Bible, and among the various works he has published few appeal to a larger class of readers or will be more appreciated than this. The plan here adopted admits of nothing in the shape of originality. All that Dr. Young seems to have aimed at has been to give a grammatical analysis of every word in the Textus Receptus in the book of Psalms; and this it is almost needless to say he has, so far as we have examined his work, successfully done. For discussions on the text, emendations, and conjectural readings, the student must turn to the more elaborate works of De Wette, Ewald, Hitzig, Hupfeld, and others, but here those who have but a smattering of Hebrew grammar will be enabled to spell their way pretty surely through the Hebrew text, and to arrive at a comparatively accurate knowledge of its meaning. Each word we should add is parsed, the prefixes and affixes are noted, and an English meaning of each word treated is given.

Egypt and Syria: Their Physical Features in Relation to Bible History. By Sir J. W. DAWSON. Religious Tract Society, 1885.

Of the now well-known and generally appreciated series of books which the Religious Tract Society has published under the title of 'By-Paths of Bible Knowledge,' this, the most recent, is one of the most interesting and useful. In its pages Sir W. Dawson discusses the question of the antiquity of the Nile Delta and the ancient conformation of the Nile Valley. Chapters are devoted to the geography of the Exodus, the geography and geology of Judea and Jerusalem, the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and to pre-historic and historic men in Egypt and Syria. The author is a little too anxious to support the chronological theories put forward by Canon Rawlinson, and scarcely exhibits that indifference to received opinions which we have grown accustomed to in geological, not less than in other scientific writers. Some of the opinions he advances are open to question. On page 17 we are told that the first builders of old Memphis must have been immediate descendants of the survivors of the deluge, and perhaps contemporary with some of them. 'The circumstances attending the visit of Abraham to Egypt render it likely,' we are informed, 'that the Hyksos were at that time already in Egypt, and that the migration of Jacob into Egypt was connected with their expulsion and removal into Palestine.' (P. 21.) These assertions are, to say the least, extremely questionable. Nevertheless we have read the volume with pleasure, and we doubt not that many will find it extremely useful.

Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People. By A. H. Sayce, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society, 1885.

The progress made in Assyrian scholarship and discovery since Botta and Layard first unearthed the remains of Dur-Sargou and then of Nineveh after they had lain concealed for centuries, is something remarkable. Little by little scholars have succeeded in deciphering the Assyrian records until it is now possible to describe the history and even the daily life and thoughts of a people, who, as Prof. Sayce remarks, were half a century ago but a mere name. This latest volume of the 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge' Series is not the least acceptable of that series. Professor Sayce's name is itself a guarantee for its accuracy, while of the interest attaching to it there is no need to speak. Into less than two hundred pages a great part of all that has recently been learned about Assyria from its own monuments and from the tablets which once formed part of the royal library, and some thousands of years ago were probably in the hands of the Assyrian Kings, is here condensed and told in graphic and simple words. In the preface Professor Sayce points out the various lights which the Assyrian discoveries have thrown up on the words, prophecies and narratives of some of the Old Testament Scriptures, and in successive chapters gives an account of the country, history, religion, art, science, literature, and manners and customs of the Assyrian people. Small as the work is it is valuable, and contains a mass of information which to the majority of readers will be entirely new. Not the least interesting portions of the volume are those dealing with the history and the scientific acquirements of the Assyrians, and the Appendix, in which a number of tablets bearing upon the connection of Assyria with the kingdoms of Israel and Judah are translated. One would have liked to have heard more about the Accadians, but to have said more than he has would have led Professor Sayce too far away we suppose from his main subject. He is careful, however, to omit no reference to the history of Israel, and to show how largely the civilization of Assyria was based upon, and in fact a reproduction of that of Babylonia. The Index compiled by Mr. Hird is an excellent feature of the volume.

Modern Science and Modern Thought. By S. LAING, M.P. London: Chapman & Hall, 1885.

Among readers of a more robust and sceptical tendency this volume of Mr. Laing's seems likely to take a place somewhat analogous to that which Mr. Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* has acquired among their orthodox brethren. Both books deal largely with matters of science, and both mix up science with theology and religion.

Beyond this, however, the likeness ceases; in all other respects the two books are almost entirely different. If the Scottish Professor's can be charged with occasional self-contradiction that of the Member for Wick cannot. It is clear, logical, straightforward, and remarkably outspoken. The reader may take exception to some of its statements, and this we should say he will be the more disposed to do when he reaches the second half of the volume, nevertheless he will always admire its author's candour and the pains he has evidently taken to make what he has to say hang well together, and to form a clear and connected chain of reasoning. That Mr. Laing should have anything to tell us which we did not know before, was, in a book dealing with modern science and modern thought, in the way he has prescribed for himself, scarcely to be expected; and as a matter of fact he does not claim to do so. All he professes to do is 'simply to discharge the humbler though still useful task of presenting what has become the common property of thinking minds, in a popular shape, which may interest those who lack time and opportunity for studying special subjects in more complete and technical treatises.' The first six chapters are accordingly devoted to an exposition of the chief discoveries of science in connection with astronomy, geology, the constitution of matter, life, the antiquity of man and his place in nature. The rest of the chapters, of which there are four, are taken up with pointing out the influence which these discoveries seem, in Mr. Laing's opinion, to have had upon the theological and religious conceptions of the past and present. The scientific chapters are the best, and very little exception can be taken to them. One point, however, may be referred to. On page 77 it is said, 'in its essence' life 'is a state of matter in which the particles are in a continued state of flux.' We are not aware that science has proved this; nor are we aware that there is any sufficient reason for supposing that life is matter in any state or shape at all. The fact that the particles of certain portions of matter are in a continued state of flux may prove that the unknown something we call life is present among them, but that is all. It does not tell us what life is, or what it is in its essence. Life, we should say, is something different from the particles of matter among which it is present, a something through whose agency they are differentiated from all other particles in a different state. Mr. Laing is scarcely so well read in theology and biblical criticism as he is in science, and the chapters in which he touches on these matters are less satisfactory. But passing over minor points, it seems to us that Mr. Laing claims far too much for modern science when he attributes to it the whole change which has come over modern thought in regard to theology and religion. Other agencies have been at work, such as philosophy, literary and biblical criticism, and above all, that spirit of rationalism which has always been abroad since ever men began to think. To this, most of all, aided, of course, among other things, by science—its youngest and probably most active offspring—must be attributed the present changes of opinion in

regard to the supernatural, historical Christianity and the essential characteristics of religion. Mr. Laing's book, however, is well worth reading, and to the large class to whom it is addressed will prove highly attractive.

Ethica; or, the Ethics of Reason. By SCOTUS NOVANTICUS.
London: Williams & Norgate. 1885.

This volume is the sequel to, and complement of, *Metaphysica nova et vetusta*, which we noticed in our October issue last year. It is characterized, we need hardly say, by all the excellent qualities that distinguished our author's previous work. Like it, it is the result of careful observation of the actual facts of consciousness and experience; not, as is so often the case with books of the kind, a piece of elaborate mooning in the 'Wonderland' of the Higher Imagination. Scotus Novanticus is a skilful and patient analyst of the phenomena of mind, and writes in a style that conveys very clearly what he wishes to express. It is a case of clear thought mirroring itself in clear language. There is never any ambiguity as to his meaning; and, defining his terms at the outset, he continues to use them throughout in the sense given to them. This is very marked, for example, in the distinction which he draws here between the 'Notion' of a thing, and the 'Idea' of it, which distinction is never lost sight of in the discussions which follow. But this is only one instance out of many which might be noted. In the earlier work we had Man considered from what may be called the speculative side of his being; here he is considered from the practical. In the earlier work it was the genesis of knowledge that was traced; here it is the genesis of morals. Man is not only capable of knowing, but of doing; and as there is right knowledge,—Truth, so there is right action,—Duty. How does man come to the apprehension of the latter, and on what does his judgment of it as 'Duty' rest? These are the problems which our author sets before him in this volume, and seeks to solve. It is difficult, in the space at our command, to give anything like a fair and satisfactory synopsis of his argument. We remarked in regard to his *Metaphysica* that it read like a mathematical demonstration. We have the same to say of this. Scotus Novanticus has evidently a wholesome horror of 'padding.' His argument here is about as condensed as it could well be. Then he is so careful in the use of his terms that we run a risk of misleading our readers by employing them without also giving his precise definitions of them. We refer our readers therefore to the work itself. It will amply repay careful study, and only by careful study can the argument be fully appreciated. Morality is here shewn to rest not on emotions of pleasure, nor on calculations of the universal good, the happiness of the greatest number. The emotions of pleasure and such calculations play but an indirect part, according to our author, in the formation of the truly moral character. They have to do with the evolu-

tion and training of the Will-Reason, but they may be compared to its nurses, and are not the mother of it. Man as an entity, and a living entity, has to realize himself,—develop the capacities and energies that constitute him, and to play his part in the world of being in which he finds himself. To discover the Law of his being, and fulfil it, is the aim of that in him which constitutes him Man; and to acquiesce in it and let nothing come between him and obedience to this Law is to be moral. How this Law reveals itself in the consciousness, and affects man in all his social and political relationships, Scotus Novanticus sets himself to bring out, while the part that Religion plays is not forgotten by him. *Ethica* is a careful study, and a valuable contribution to Ethical Science.

Microcosmus : an Essay Concerning Man and his Relations to the World. By HERMANN LOTZE. Translated by E. HAMILTON and E. E. CONSTANCE JONES. 2 Vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885.

Lotze's eminence as a thinker, and the influence his writings are quietly exercising in various departments of literature and thought, are such that any fairly successful attempt to make his works accessible to English readers deserves to be heartily welcomed. Some time ago his *Logic* and *Metaphysics* were translated and issued from the Clarendon Press, under the editorial care of Mr. Bosanquet. The late Miss Hamilton, daughter of the celebrated Edinburgh professor, Sir William Hamilton, began, and Miss Constance Jones has now completed, after executing the greater part of it, a translation of the *Mikrokosmos*. The work was originally published in three volumes, and the translation occupies two large octavo volumes, containing in all close upon fifteen hundred pages. It is not a book which is easy to read; nor is it one that the reader can master at a single sitting. It is a book to be read and re-read; and voluminous as it is there is scarcely one of its pages that will not repay the most careful study and repeated perusal. From beginning to end it is crowded with profound thoughts and original speculations, and the intensely practical aim by which it is pervaded, that, viz., of bringing philosophy into the closest possible contact with ordinary human life, gives an interest to its pages, which those of similar works rarely possess. By Lotze himself the *Microcosmos* is compared to Herder's *Ideen zur Geschichte an Menschheit*. The question he proposes to answer is 'What significance have men, and human life with its constant phenomena, and the changing course of history, in the great whole of Nature, to the steady influence of which the results of modern science have made us feel more than ever in subjection?' and, as might be expected, the essay resolves itself into an elaborate discussion of the constitution of the human

microcosm, and its manifold relations to the universe around it. Of the nine books into which the work is divided, the first five are devoted to the consideration of man as an individual, and are to a large extent psychological. The next three deal with the Microcosmic Order, History and Progress, or with man as a social being, as he appears in history, in relation to Nature, the family and the State, and as subject to the law of intellectual and spiritual development. The last gathers up the results arrived at in the preceding books, and concludes with chapters on the personality of God and His relation to the world. True to the mediation tendency of his philosophy, in the discussion of all these varied topics, Lotze assumes that the spiritual needs of man and the impulse in which modern science has originated, and the discoveries to which it leads are not mutually exclusive, and everywhere seeks to discover the truth, profounder than any to which science has yet attained, in which the two apparently diverse tendencies of human thought may be reconciled. The contest between them, he observes, is a torment which we inflict upon ourselves unnecessarily, by simply stopping short in our investigations. Further investigation, he maintains, will result in the reconciliation of the conceptions of science with the intuitions and longings of the spiritual nature. The doctrine, we need hardly observe, is not new. What is new in the volumes before us is the manner in which it is worked out. Never before has it been applied in so complete a way, or with such subtilty and power. As will readily be inferred, Lotze finds room in his system not only for the conception of duty, but also for the doctrine of immortality and the existence of God. In the conception of a personal Deity, who is the essence of all that merits existence for its own sake and the Creator and Governor of the Universe, all his speculations culminate. Of immortality he says, 'That will last for ever which on account of its excellence and its spirit must be an abiding part of the universe; what lacks that preserving worth will perish. We can discover no other supreme law of our destiny than this, but this,' he adds with characteristic caution, 'is itself inapplicable in human hands. We dare not presume to judge and determine which mental development wins immortality by the eternal significance whereto it has raised itself, and to which it is denied. We must not decide either whether all animal souls are perishable and all human souls imperishable, but take refuge in the belief that to each soul right will be done' (Vol. I. 389, 390). 'Perfect personality,' he remarks, 'is in God only, to all finite minds there is allotted but a small copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of the personality, but a limit and hindrance of its development' (Vol. II. 688); and again, 'The only thing which is really good is that Living Love that wills the blessedness of others' (Vol. II. 721). To learn the value of these volumes, however, the reader must turn to them himself. It is impossible to study them without advantage. They deserve to be in the hands of all who are capable of appreciating, or desire to be acquainted with, the highest efforts of modern thought. The trans-

lation, a work of no small difficulty, appears to have been done with great care and skill.

A Handbook of Psychology. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D., etc. London and Paisley: Alex. Gardner. Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1885.

The Fotheringham Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the M'Gill College, Montreal, has no need to write a single word approaching to anything like an apology for the publication of his *Handbook of Psychology*. There have been many and excellent books published in connection with Psychology during recent years, but the Handbook before us is likely to win a position and to occupy a place peculiarly its own. Class-books are not always interesting reading; nor are they always distinguished by anything like clearness, simplicity, or felicity of style. Dr. Murray's has the advantage of being written with singular clearness and simplicity, while the illustrations he employs to elucidate his definitions are so well chosen, and often of such intrinsic excellence, that the dullest student can scarcely fail to apprehend his meaning or to take an interest in the subject. Anything new, or any novel psychological theory Dr. Murray has not of course to tell, or expound. In a manual intended to introduce students to a knowledge of the ascertained facts of the science, anything of the kind would be out of place. All that Professor Murray has attempted is to place before the student clearly and systematically the known facts of psychology and the prevalent theories about them, and to point out the arguments for and against the latter. The plan he has adopted is simple and natural, and admirably adapted to lead the student on step by step from the simpler to the more complex phenomena of the human mind. Accepting the Kantian classification of mental phenomena he has divided his volume into two books. The first, which bears the title of 'General Psychology,' deals with what has happily been called the 'raw material of mind,' its simplest elements and processes. The second book is devoted to Special Psychology, and deals with these simpler phenomena and processes as they are wrought up into the combinations which form the actual mental life, Cognition, Feeling and Volition being taken as the three fundamental types of these combinations. Professor Murray has read widely, and makes use of the most recent authorities on his subject, among others of Wundt and Lotze. Some of the latter's opinions he adopts. On the other hand, Fechner's law is rejected. The volume is of a handy size, and well printed.

La Philosophie Ancienne: Histoire Générale de Les Systèmes.
Par Ch. BENARD. Première Partie. Paris: Félix Alcan,
1885.

This is the first volume of what promises to be, on the whole, a very satisfactory history of the old philosophies. As M. Bénard justly remarks, the aim of the history of philosophy is not only to expound and criticise the various philosophical systems of the past, but also to retrace the process by which they have been produced by the speculative reason, and to ascertain and determine the laws of their development. His own aim, however, in the present volume is scarcely so comprehensive. It is simply, he tells us, 'de mettre au courant de la science actuelle, et de ses plus récents travaux, le lecteur instruit qui s'intéresse à ces matières, en ce qui concerne les principaux systèmes de la philosophie ancienne.' It must not be supposed, however, that M. Bénard simply retails the opinions of others, or that he has no opinions of his own. His estimate of his own work is much too modest. He has made the history of philosophy the subject of profound study, and has arrived at conclusions not always the same as those of writers who have preceded him, but always deserving the most careful consideration. The present volume is devoted to the Oriental philosophies, and to the philosophy of Greece down to the time of Socrates and the Sophists. On the Sophists there are several excellent chapters both historical and critical, in which, among other things, Hegel is defended against the charge of attempting their moral rehabilitation.

Archives de la Bastille, documents inédits, recueillis et publiés par
FRANÇOIS RAVAISSON, conservateur adjoint à la bibliothèque
de l'Arsenal. 16 vols. 8vo, Paris: Pedone Lauriel, 1866-
1885.

The premature and lamented death of M. François Ravaisson gives us the opportunity of introducing to our readers a work of which he had just published the sixteenth volume, and which is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions to modern French history issued during the last thirty years. The title itself is startling enough, and most persons unacquainted with the book would naturally be led to suppose that it is merely one of those sensational productions originating from the Revolutionary party across the Channel, and consisting of stories utterly destitute of foundation, and intended merely to disseminate and foster a wholesome hatred of the *Ancien Régime*. There is no doubt whatever that the *Archives de la Bastille* are not likely to make us admire the character of Louis XIV., the Regent, and Louis XV.; but the result produced upon our minds by these curiously compiled and annotated documents is that of plain reality, and the annals of despotism are so eloquent that they need not the addition of fancy to make us thoroughly hate despotism itself. Voltaire, in his *Siecle de Louis XIV.* had with his wonted brilliancy set before us the sunny side, if we may so say, of the courts of Versailles and Marly. Saint Simon was the first to let us into the secrets of a highly polished but essen-

tially artificial and corrupt society ; M. Ravaissou goes further still ; he shows us what was really the state of things in France during nearly a century and a half, and as his work takes us from 1659 to 1757 we can trace year by year the progress and the outcome of that system of tyranny briefly but forcibly expressed in the *grand monarque's* favourite motto, *l'état c'est moi*, and the principal episodes of which were the famous poisoning cases, the destruction of Port-Royal, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the orgies of the Duke d'Orléans and the reign of Madame de Pompadour. Before coming to the details of the history of the Bastille, it is only proper that we should know something of the grim fortress itself, its discipline, and administration, the sort of prisoners confined within its walls, the treatment they underwent, and the fate which awaited them. All these preliminaries are carefully explained by our author, who shows us that it might be truly said of Hugues Aubriot's dreaded Bastille, '*Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate.*' If a person condemned to be incarcerated there did not possess the means of propitiating his gaolers and providing for himself, we will not say the comforts, but a little more than the necessities of life, his fate was intolerable. We have all heard of Latude's captivity ; but Latude was not an exception, there were many like him, and whilst the salons of Versailles were witnessing scenes of revelry and extravagance, the wretched prisoner of state denounced, and often sent to the Bastille by virtue of a *lettre de cachet* on the most frivolous pretences, found himself condemned to a kind of living death till the good pleasure of the king sanctioned his release. Not that amongst the persons arrested and confined there were not, as there always must be, scoundrels richly deserving their fate, but we do not hesitate to say, on the authority of the documents collected by M. Ravaissou, that the majority were condemned to various terms of imprisonment for actions which we now would deem innocent, if not highly commendable and praiseworthy. As we go on through these fifteen volumes we find Jansenism and Protestantism, the disciples of Antoine Arnauld on the one side and *ces messieurs de la religion prétendue réformée* on the other, crowding with their names the registers of the Bastille, and giving them an air of respectability. What business had M. or N. to think otherwise than His Majesty on matters connected with religion ? If the Pope chose to condemn the 'five propositions' contained in the *Augustinus* of the Bishop of Ypres, how dare any one endorse and subscribe them ? If Calvinism or Molinism or Quietism was heresy, had not the government the right—or rather the duty—to stamp out heresy with the help of a regiment of dragoons ? We must turn to the *Archives de la Bastille* if we would form some adequate idea of the trouble which all these questions about doctrine, faith, and practice, gave to the police of Louis XIV. and XV. Whatever were the precautions taken, Huguenots of an ardent character managed to evade them ; despite all the sharpness of the government agents, secret conventicles of Jansenists were held in Paris ; dispersed here, they met somewhere else, and it was

those iniquitous measures, which, instead of securing uniformity of religion, brought about the excesses of the Cévennes fanatics, and the hysterical scenes at the Cimetière Saint Médard. But, further, if it was indispensable to recognize in matters of faith no authority except that of the Pope, and in questions of politics no law but the *sic volo* of the king, it became necessary to guard the Parisians against anything which might shake their belief or endanger their loyalty. Hence the incessant campaign directed by the police against the MSS. journals, which, under the title of *Nouvelles A la main*, circulated extensively, not only within the walls of the metropolis, but throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. Surrounded as it was on all sides, especially during the war of the Spanish succession, by bitter enemies for whom all means were good, France was deluged with those MSS. gazettes, to say nothing of the printed pamphlets and broadsides of Jurieu and other controversialists of the same kind, who did all they could to undermine the authority of the king. M. Ravaisson quotes several instances of the boldness displayed by the agents of foreign powers in France; it would seem that Paris, at a certain time, was looked upon as swarming with malcontents of every description, who contrived to elude the vigilance of the strictest and most efficient police. Spies, informers, secret intriguers were to be seen plying their business almost under the very shadow of the Bastille. We alluded, at the commencement of this article, to the celebrated poisoning cases which during the years 1661-63 created such a panic in Paris. No episode, perhaps, gives a more curious and repulsive insight into the moral state of the French higher classes during the reign of Louis XIV.; the names of the greatest families might be seen on the list of persons suspected, and the Duchess D'Orléans, daughter of King Charles I., died from the effects of the poison given to her in a tumbler of chicory-water. Fouquet, Madame de Montespan, the Duchess de Soissons, and a host of other personages equally celebrated, have their places in M. Ravaisson's volumes, and one is perfectly startled by the amount of wickedness displayed by certain characters who are still generally considered to have been the chief ornaments of the Court of France under Louis XIV., the Regent D'Orléans, and Louis XV. That the Revolution of 1789 swept away all the society is no wonder; rather should we be astonished that the catastrophe should not have occurred sooner. M. Ravaisson had originally intended to complete his work in twenty volumes. It is much to be regretted that he did not live to carry out his plan. As it is, the portion before us will be found of the highest value for the history of France.

Les Liges Etolienne et Achéenne. Par MARCEL DUBOIS.
Paris: Ernest Thorin. 1885.

The object of Dr. Dubois' treatise is to investigate the territorial formation and the inner constitution of the two federal states which developed

in Greece during the last two centuries of its independence; to show, on the one hand, the importance of the Etolian league amongst the Grecian states, and to indicate the circumstances owing to which the Etolians were able to bring into their confederacy so many nations of central and northern Greece; on the other hand, to set forth in what manner a Peloponnesian league succeeded in grouping together, under the common name of Achaïans, all the Hellenes of the southern peninsula. The whole subject resolves itself into an examination of the following questions:—1st, Were the Etolian and Achaïan leagues formed merely by the union of nations and of towns affiliated to one of the two confederacies throughout the whole of Greece? 2nd, Does the history of the revolutions undergone by the two leagues indicate any great social and political divergences; and was the foreign policy guided chiefly by party antagonism? 3rd, Are the institutions of the two confederacies sufficiently dissimilar to authorise the belief that aristocracy and democracy were, respectively, an immutable principle in the form of government of each group? After a minute and scholarly examination of these various points, the author comes to the conclusion that the history of the two leagues is not merely the history of two opposite parties, of two hostile factions, for, as he points out, the antagonism between the Etolians and Achaïans was neither constant nor perpetual, and, more important still, the development of the federative unions was neither contemporaneous nor identical. Students of Grecian history will at once recognize the importance of Dr. Dubois' work. He is not, it is true, by any means the first who has treated the subject. Within the present generation Mr. Freeman devoted to it a whole section of his *History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the Achaïan League to the Disruption of the United States*. But Mr. Dubois had at his disposal epigraphic texts which were unknown to former historians, and he has also the merit of isolating himself in antiquity instead of endeavouring, as so many of his predecessors have done, to find comparisons, illustrations, and parallels in federations of more modern date, such as those of Switzerland and America.

Local Institutions of Maryland. By L. W. WILHELM, Ph.D.
The Influence of the Proprietors in Founding the State of New Jersey. By AUSTIN SCOTT, Ph.D. *American Constitutions.* By HORACE DAVIS. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1885.

These are the three most recent numbers of the excellent series of monographs in course of publication by members of the John Hopkins University on the political and economic institutions of the United States. Each of them is an admirable example of what a monograph should be,

lucid, accurate, and concisely written. In the first Dr. Wilhelm gives a singularly clear and interesting account of the origin and development of the institutions of Maryland, dealing particularly with the partition of the land, the origin and functions of the hundred, county and town. The second is devoted to an historical investigation into the development of political life in the State of New Jersey with special reference to the influence of the proprietors and their representatives. In the third, Mr. Horace Davies describes the three great departments in the government of the United States, the legislative, executive, and judicial; traces their history during the past century, and shows how they have gradually been brought into their present relations with each other. Each of the monographs contains a large amount of valuable information, and at the present moment, when so much is being thought and said amongst ourselves about the land question, the first and second deserve to be carefully studied. The study of Mr. Davis' historical sketch may be recommended on other grounds.

La Légende Tragique de Jordano Bruno. Par THEOPHILE DESDOUITS. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1885.

We had hitherto considered it an authentic historical fact that Giordano Bruno, the Nolan philosopher, the friend of Sidney and Spenser, had paid with his life the penalty of his tolerance in praising the Queen of England and 'other heretical princes,' and of his boldness in daring to call into question the infallibility of the Pope and to teach, amongst other 'most horrible absurdities,' that Satan himself is not damned beyond redemption, that, in the year 1600, the Holy Inquisition, after degrading and excommunicating the heresiarch, had handed him over to the secular arm with a merciful recommendation that 'he should be punished with the greatest possible leniency and without effusion of blood,' and that, in accordance with this barbarously hypocritical sentence, he was burnt to death in Rome. Our belief, it is true, was founded on no personal research, but it rested on the authority of such biographers as Bartholmess, Berti, Brunnhofer, Cousin, and Marc-Monnier, and was further strengthened by the knowledge that a movement, having for its object the erection, in the Campo de' Fiori—the spot where he is supposed to have suffered—of a statue to 'the greatest thinker of the Renaissance' has actually been initiated, in Rome itself, by the students of the University. Our astonishment was, therefore, great when, on opening Dr. Desdouits' work, we found that the author had set himself no less a task than that of proving the 'tragic legend' of the Nolan philosopher's execution to be apocryphal, to have sprung out of an impudent forgery. Briefly, his main arguments are the silence of contemporaries and the fact that the letter on which the whole case rests and which is attributed to Gaspard Schopp,

though bearing the date of 1600, did not appear till 1701, and at once excited the suspicion of so keen-sighted a critic as Bayle. He further urges the total absence of extrinsic proofs in support of the authenticity of Schopp's letter to Rittershausen, and minutely examines the document itself to show not only that it contains no internal evidence either, but also that there are passages which are wholly inconsistent with the hypothesis that it was written in Rome, a few days after the execution. Lastly, he maintains that Bruno's execution is *à priori* unlikely. We need scarcely say that Dr. Desdouits' work is as important as it is interesting; if it cannot claim to have settled the whole question it has, at least, raised doubts which will have to be satisfied. We take the liberty of calling the author's attention to a fact which he overlooks and which may prove to be an important argument against the authenticity of Schopp's letter. Schopp states that Giordano was kept *two* years in the dungeons of the Roman inquisition; in an article published in the December number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, Marc-Monnier asserts, on the authority of documents discovered and published by Berti, whose important work we were astonished to find Dr. Desdouits apparently ignorant of, that Bruno was handed over by Venice to Rome in 1593, 'a date,' he adds, 'which it is important to note, as rectifying statements formerly put forward.' Is it possible that, if Schopp was in Rome at the time of Bruno's execution, he should have been ignorant of the fact that the arch-heretic against whom he inveighs, and over whose sufferings he rejoices, had lingered not *two* but *seven* years in the dungeons of the Holy Roman Inquisition?

Le Duc de Rohan et les Protestants sur Louis XIII. Par
HENRY DE LA GARDE. Paris: Plon, Nourrit, & Co.

In the whole history of French Protestantism there is scarcely a more illustrious name than that of Henri de Rohan; and as Coligny reminds us of the early days of the Huguenot movement, so do we invariably connect the close of that movement as a political episode in the history of France, with the hero who immortalised himself at Montauban, Montpellier, and La Rochelle. M. Bersier, a little while ago, gave us a spirited account of the admiral's career before the outbreak of the religious wars of the sixteenth century; M. Henry de la Garde now introduces us to the life and military exploits of the Duke de Rohan, about the last Protestant general who fought in France the battles of freedom of conscience. The sieges of Montauban and of Montpellier, the taking of La Rochelle, and the peace of Alais, are the four chief episodes in the period of time discussed by our author, and they make up as many corresponding chapters in his interesting and excellently written volume. Nor should we forget the introduction, from which we may conveniently quote a characteristic ex-

tract :—‘ If the Edict of Nantes had reassured the Protestants, Ravallac’s crime struck them with consternation, a young king who, from a moral as well as physical point of view, gave promise of none of the brilliant qualities which had distinguished the Béarnais ; an Italian queen-regent whose very name recalled the mad terrible days of the persecutions ; Sully in disgrace ; princes and nobles eaten up by ambition ; . . . the savings of Henry IV. given up to plunder ; uncertainty everywhere, and freedom of conscience publicly threatened ; such is, including the ridiculous and ruinous *brouilleries* of the Prince de Condé, the succinct but faithful *résumé* of the first years of Louis XIII.’s reign. Having gradually recovered from that stupor under the impulse of Bouillon and Rohan, Sully and Duplessis-Mornay, the Protestants took advantage of the confusion reigning at court to draw up a plan, to strengthen themselves in their “ place of safety,” and to take possession of fresh ones ; finally, they extended certain rights which the Edict granted to them, and which they were often flatly denied. Thus it is that they passed on from a state of extreme irritation and suspicion to that of open revolt ; thus it is that they raised soldiers, had officers, a generalissimo, and almost a government ; thus it is that they obtained successes, experienced defeats and concluded treaties, violated alternately by themselves or by the court. Betrayed by the Prince de Condé, with whom they had joined for the purpose of opposing the Spanish marriages, they allowed him to be taken to the Bastille ; and they witnessed with equal unconcern the downfall of Concini and the rising fortunes of Luynes. These two favourites were for a short time masters both of the king and of the kingdom ; but a court intrigue followed by a cowardly murder delivered the Huguenots from the former ; as for de Luynes, a fortified place and a redoubtable chieftain sufficed to bring to the ground his pride and his power ; that fortified place was Montauban, that chieftain was Henri de Rohan, prince de Rohan and de Porhoet.’ In preparing his work M. de la Garde has not, like so many contemporary historians, gone in search of hitherto unpublished materials, and of sources unknown to his predecessors. Satisfied with the documents generally available, he has derived the features of his hero’s character from Rohan’s own memoirs, Tallemant des Réaux, Messrs. Haag’s *La France Protestante*, M. Bazin’s *Histoire de Louis XIII.*, and other authorities of the same kind, and he has thus conjured up before us an individuality deserving all our admiration and all our sympathy.

Robert Burns and the Ayrshire Moderates. A Correspondence
Reprinted from the *Scotsman*, with Remarks. Privately
Printed, 1883.

The correspondence here reprinted arose out of a statement made by Mr. Taylor Innes in a paper contributed by him to the *Contemporary*

Review, with reference to certain alleged incidents in the life of Burns. The incident more particularly referred to is Burns' supposed interview with one of the ministers of the town of Ayr. The discussion, however, opens out into the wider questions—what were his relations with the Moderates of Ayrshire, and what influence had his connection with them upon his conduct. Mr. Taylor Innes' original averment was that Burns' first declensions from the path of virtue were due to advice given to him by Dr. M'Gill. When taken to task by his correspondent 'Aliquanto Latior,' he exonerates Dr. M'Gill, and lays the advice at the door of 'Dr. —, one of the ministers of Ayr,' who could be no other than Dr. M'Gill's colleague, Dr. Dalrymple, whom Burns designates 'D'rymple mild.' 'Aliquanto Latior' returns to the charge, and shows to our mind conclusively that the story repeated by Mr. Taylor Innes is without foundation. In the Remarks which follow the Correspondence, a relative of 'Aliquanto Latior' continues the argument, and shows successfully, among other things, that it cannot be truly said that the Moderates of Ayrshire, either clergy or laity, had any share in leading the unfortunate poet astray. Altogether the Correspondence and the 'Remarks' form a valuable contribution to the better understanding of Burns' biography. Both the letters of 'Aliquanto Latior' and the 'Remarks' are temperately written, and will well repay perusal. Here is one mistake removed—when shall we have a 'Life of Burns' which is thoroughly reliable?

Memoir of the Rev. David King, LL.D. By his Wife and Daughter. Together with some of his Sermons. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons, 1885.

Dr. King was well known in Glasgow and Edinburgh as an accomplished and highly successful minister in the United Presbyterian Church. In London and to the public generally he was probably better known as one of the founders of the Evangelical Alliance, and for the lively and effective interest he took in all matters connected with the moral and social well-being of the poorer classes, and the spread of Christianity both at home and abroad. During his lifetime the value of his services was more than once publicly recognised, and his memory is still affectionately cherished not only by many in the church to which he belonged, and of which he was an ornament, but also by many others. To all such the volume before us will be highly acceptable. It has an interest also for those to whom Dr. King was unknown, as a beautiful memorial of a beautiful life. Dr. King was not only a man of good parts and indefatigable zeal; he was endowed with a rare and noble spirit, was charitable and disinterested, and one whose aim and happiness was to do good, irrespective of sect or creed. His widow and daughter, to whom we owe the present memoir, have discharged their somewhat painful, yet

in the main pleasant task, with an affection, prudence and skill rarely equalled. If they have erred at all it is on the side of brevity. This, however, we are disposed to regard as a merit rather than as a fault. No doubt much more might have been said about Dr. King, and there can be no doubt that much more deserved to be said in connection with the various movements with which he was identified; but it seems to us that in confining their memoir within reasonable limits the authors have acted wisely. They have written a charmingly simple and condensed narrative of Dr. King's life, and said quite sufficient to leave a clear and vivid impression of his character upon the mind of the reader—which is all, we take it, that a biographer is required to do, and what few biographers succeed in doing. The sermons, which form the second and smaller part of the volume, were not prepared by their author for publication. Coming from Dr. King we need hardly add that they are short, vigorous, and full of evangelical truth.

Public and Private Libraries of Glasgow. By THOMAS MASON, Glasgow. Printed for Subscribers and for Private Circulation. T. D. Morison, 1885.

Mr. Mason, the accomplished librarian of the Stirling's and Glasgow Public Library, has discharged a somewhat laborious and difficult task in an extremely creditable way. He has written with enthusiasm and intelligence; so also have those who have contributed to his pages; and together they have succeeded in producing a singularly interesting and valuable book. In the pages devoted to the public libraries, a description of the library of the University of Glasgow is conspicuous by its absence, owing to the catalogue of that library not being so well forward as to allow of an accurate and adequate description being made. So at least we are informed by Mr. Mason, though the catalogue has been in hand some twelve or fifteen years. It is to be hoped that his expectation of being able to include a description of the library in his next volume will not prove fallacious. The public libraries described in the present volume are the one over which Mr. Mason presides, the Mitchell, and the Euing libraries. The account given of the Mitchell Library is contributed by Mr. Barrett, the principal officer of that Institution. The Euing Musical Library is described by an anonymous writer. The private libraries described by Mr. Mason are in all thirteen, among them being those of Professor Ferguson, Messrs. J. Gray, Wyllie Guild, G. Wingate Hill, B. B. Macgeorge, J. B. Murdoch, A. Young, and Dr. Mc'Grigor. So rich does Glasgow seem to be in libraries that, according to Mr. Mason, it contains 'scores worthy of description.' 'The libraries described,' he adds, '(sixteen in all) are representative collections, and fairly reflect the characteristics of the remainder.' As to the number of volumes, Mr. Mason believes that the thirteen private libraries

of which he has given an account contain not far short of 70,000, and that those in his three public libraries may safely be put down at 100,000. None of the libraries seems to be particularly rich in MSS. There are a few in the Stirling's and Mitchell Libraries, and also in the library of Professor Ferguson, but none of them appears to be of any great value, though some of Professor Ferguson's are curious. Four of the libraries own among them nearly a hundred and fifty fifteenth century books. Books printed in the following century are comparatively numerous in all the collections. Each of the private libraries has a character of its own. Dr. M'Grigor's, for example, is rich in theology, and Professor Ferguson's in books dealing with magic, alchemy, and witchcraft. Mr. Wyllie Guild's seems to be particularly rich in Marian literature, as well as in portraits, real or imaginary, of the ill-fated queen. First editions and editions *de luxe* seem to be pretty numerous, so also do society books. As to rarities, Messrs. Guild and Young own fine copies of the first edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, and Mr. Russell one of the first issue of *Paradise Lost*. Two copies of the first edition of Burns are mentioned, and one copy of Leyden's rare edition of the *Complaynte of Scotlande*. But the curious in these matters must be referred to Mr. Mason's book, where they will find much to interest them, and learn that in Glasgow there is no lack either of scholarship or of love for books.

Phases of Opinion and Experience during a Long Life: an Autobiography. By CHARLES BRAY. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Mr. Bray's autobiography is very interesting; a brief sketch of the life of an honest, shrewd, sensible, and most kindly natured man, written with candour, a good deal of quiet humour, and in a most genial spirit. As a practical philanthropist he must have been a very useful man; as a reasoner he is very comical. The man who ventures to enter the lists against some of the most distinguished scientific men of the day, says,—‘It is well known among the poorer classes, where the practice sometimes necessarily prevails, that when children sleep with their grandparents, or other older relations, the young life is abstracted to feed the old, and the children get prematurely old.’ Again, in expounding his reasons for total disbelief in a future state, he says,—‘If man had been made immortal here, the world would soon have been full, and all the people who have lived for some thousands of years past could not have come into being at all; and there is not much difference in effect between keeping people out of being and putting them out. I should not like to be guilty of putting out of existence, or of *keeping out* of existence, all who may come after me. It would be manslaughter at least.’ This is a sort of reasoning which has at least the merit of being unanswerable. Would Mr. Bray have

everyone who took a vow of celibacy tried for manslaughter? Mr. Bray's rejection of all belief in a future life seems to us to be in great measure a revolt against the doctrine of so-called eternal punishment. Surely the two are not bound to stand or fall together? And if he recoils from the cruelty and injustice of punishing sentient beings through all eternity for their actions during time, how is he advantaged by falling back upon a creed which compels him to accept the fact of thousands of human beings, with the keenest capacities for happiness and pleasure, being doomed to lives of hopeless suffering and misery, from the cradle to the grave, with nothing before them but total annihilation, at least as individuals? This is surely as hard a nut to crack as the other? Verily the days are not past when men would strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.

Old Times. A Picture of the Social Life at the End of the Eighteenth Century. Collected and Illustrated from the Satirical Sketches of the Day. By JOHN ASHTON. London: John C. Nimmo, 1885.

The least that can be said of the picture of the old times Mr. Ashton has here presented to his readers is that it is vivid and faithful. The care and labour he has brought to bear upon his task, and the skill with which he has executed it, are admirable and much greater, we fear, than many will at first sight be disposed to credit him with. He has known what he wanted and where to find it, and has shown great art both in distributing his material and in so placing it as to make it tell with striking effect. The period chosen is the last twelve years of the eighteenth century, and instead of describing the social life of these years in his own words, he has reproduced from the newspapers of the day the most suitable paragraphs for his purpose, and connected them with a brief but skilful commentary of his own. Most of his paragraphs are taken from the *Times*, which issued its first number on January 1, 1788, but as copies of the *Times* are imperfect, and in some of its earlier years totally missing, where his principal authority fails him, he has had recourse to other newspapers and publications, such as the *Annual Register*, *St. James's Chronicle*, the *London Gazette*, the *Morning Post*, the *Female Tatler*, the *London Chronicle*, and the *Morning Herald*. Here and there, too, we have an advertisement. Some of the paragraphs and advertisements are amusing, and all of them are, for the purposes in hand, informing and suggestive. The introductory chapter gives a succinct narrative of the principal events of the closing years of the century. Of the other thirteen chapters, two are devoted to Dress, one to the Army and Navy, one to Social Economy, another to Gaming, three to the Theatre, Opera, Ballet, etc.; one deals with monetary matters, another with Law and Police; and some three or four pages are given

to Royalty. The object of the book, however, is not to illustrate the life of royal personages, nor of the aristocracy, but of the middle class. As will readily be inferred, the information given is of the most varied character. The mirror is held up to art and artifice as well as to nature, and we see our grandfathers and grandmothers as they appeared in the eyes of their contemporaries. Of the illustrations of the volume, of which there are twenty eight, we can only say they serve their purpose exceedingly well. Taken from the satirical prints of the period, they are sometimes a little exaggerated, but on the whole they faithfully represent the manners, costumes, etc., of the age. Quotation is here impossible. We can only refer the reader to the book itself, and can assure him that he will not find a single dull page within its handsome covers.

Ecclesiological Notes on Some of the Islands of Scotland. By T. S. MUIR. Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1885.

Mr. David Douglas, to whom antiquaries, and those who have a taste for antiquarian studies, are already indebted for the publication of a number of very excellent works connected with the antiquities of Scotland, has done good service by collecting together, and publishing in their present form, the various little books of which this volume is mainly composed. The booklets are as valuable as they are scarce. They were originally printed for private circulation, and in several instances the impression thrown off did not exceed twenty-five copies. The materials for them were gathered by their author during his numerous wanderings along the coast and among the islands of Scotland in quest of objects of ecclesiological interest. The matter contained in the first seventy-nine pages has never before been published, and consists for the most part of descriptions of the ecclesiastical antiquities in the islands along the west coast and in Orkney and Shetland. Among the objects described are the ecclesiastical relics of Arran and Bute, Sanda, Gigha, Cara, Isla, Eilean Mòr, Mull, Tiree, Skye, Lewis, Harris, Benbecula, Barra, Pabba, Flannain Isles, St. Kilda, and Eilean Finan. The descriptions are clearly and concisely written, and show how much of interest is still to be found in places where relics of the past might be least expected to exist. At the same time they are extremely suggestive. The history of these islands has not yet been written, and probably never will be. Few people, we imagine, have anything like an adequate conception of the life and activity of which they were once the scene. The volume before us will help them to the formation of one. This is more especially true of its second and third hundred pages. There is a charm, too, about this part of the volume which is altogether its own. The stiffness of the more formal 'General Notices' is dropped, and the author mixes up with his ecclesiological notes a delightful narrative of his own experiences, sorrows, and speculations,

Now and then a piece of scenery is described, or a touch of history is thrown in, or an account is given of the ways and customs of the islanders. Everywhere, too, there prevails a rich vein of quiet and genial humour. The illustrations are abundant and admirably executed. Altogether, the book is a charming one. Its equal for instruction, interest, and attractiveness, whether as regards its appearance or its contents, we have rarely met with. It is incomparably more readable than its title would lead one to suppose, and besides being full of pleasant reading, is a rich mine of ecclesiological lore, which can no where else be met with in so handy and handsome a form.

Legal Medicine. Part II. By CHARLES MEYMOTT TIDY, M.B.,
F.C.S. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885.

We gave a hearty welcome in these pages to the first part of what promised to be a most complete treatise on Legal Medicine. The second part, which is now before us, quite fulfils the promise of the first. About two-thirds of this volume are taken up with the discussion of the medico-legal aspects of sexual relationship, the remainder dealing with the various forms of death by asphyxia, as drowning, hanging, strangulation and suffocation. Under the first head are discussed questions of great social importance, which may or may not have criminal aspects, such as legitimacy, and paternity, live birth, pregnancy, and abortion, and questions—which may be described as of a purely criminal character—that deal with those painful aberrations of the sexual instinct, which in many of their more repulsive manifestations, we are glad, for the sake of humanity, to believe to be due to disease rather than to vice. The public conscience is still sore from the revelations of sexual crime written so objectionally in one of our popular journals, that it is difficult to believe in the purity of the writer's motive. To the medical jurist the so-called revelations, stripped of their literary and salacious presentations, are but the exceptional outbursts of depraved or diseased appetites, too abundant illustrations of which are to be found in every treatise on medical jurisprudence. In the pages before us these subjects are treated in a purely scientific spirit, and as morbid products common to all time and to all civilization. As in the former volume, the illustrative cases, which are a special feature in this treatise, are placed at the end of each chapter. In the preface, Dr. Tidy informs us that he has generally searched the 'original memoirs in order to learn directly the views held by authorities and the cases upon which their opinions were based.' He further informs us that, of these cases, he has selected eight hundred, 'a number barely a third of those abstracted.' This will give the reader some notion of the thoroughness with which Dr. Tidy has done his work. The book is alto-

gether well got up, and we can only hope that the succeeding parts will maintain the high standard reached by Dr. Tidy in the first and second parts.

Harbours and Docks: Their Physical Features, History, Construction, Equipment, and Maintenance, with Statistics as to their Commercial Development. By LEVESON FRANCIS VERNON-HARCOURT, M.A. 2 Vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1885.

A Treatise on Rivers and Canals relating to the Control and Improvement of Rivers, and the Design, Construction, and Development of Canals. By the same Author. 2 Vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1882.

These volumes deal with subjects of surpassing interest, more especially to a maritime and commercial people like ourselves, and deserve the attention of a much wider circle of readers than those for whose assistance they were primarily intended. The latter of the two treatises was suggested to the author when preparing a course of lectures on River and Canal Engineering for the School of Military Engineering at Chatham in 1880, and was published some years ago. The extremely favourable reception which it then met with has been abundantly confirmed, and the work has now taken its place among the books of reference, permanently required by the civil and mechanical engineer. Of its value as a manual, both to the student and the professional man, there can be no doubt. In the three hundred pages of the first volume, Mr. Vernon-Harcourt has managed to convey in clear and vigorous English an immense mass of information drawn for the most part from sources, which to many are by no means easily accessible, and has saved the reader an immense amount of trouble, by carefully noting in almost every instance, the places whence his descriptions are obtained. The first ten chapters are devoted to rainfall, discharges and their measurement, supply and flow, dredging, fascine work, piles, cofferdams, foundations, locks and lifts, weirs, dams, quay-walls and movable bridges; the next two chapters, or about fifty pages, to canals and their history; and the remaining seven, to rivers, their floods and the improvement of their navigation. The chapter on weirs is specially interesting, and all the more important, as less attention has been paid to their construction in this country than elsewhere. The chapter on the measurement of the discharge of rivers is excellent, as are also those on works for affording a passage from one level to another. In the chapters on canals we have excellent descriptions of the Suez and

Caledonian Canals, as well as of the more important in every quarter of the world. Among the descriptions given of work done for the improvement of rivers, which in reality is the main subject of the treatise, the account given of the work done on the Clyde will have the most interest for northern readers, while southern readers will naturally be more interested in the sections devoted to the Mersey, Severn, and Dee, and the works constructed for the drainage of the Fen district. The second volume contains a series of well arranged and admirably executed plates which are valuable among other reasons for the very full light they throw upon the text. The first volume of the more recent and larger work is divided into two parts, the first dealing with harbours and the second with docks. The first three chapters are devoted to the consideration of wind, its velocity and pressure, waves, tides, currents, and changes in coasts, and form an appropriate introduction to the chapters which follow. The first of these contains an excellent classification of harbours, and is followed by three chapters on the construction of jetties and breakwaters. The ten chapters which follow these on the various kinds of harbours are extremely valuable, almost every harbour of any importance or peculiarity of construction or position being carefully and clearly described. The chapter on lighthouses, beacons, etc., is excellent, and has an interest for more than engineers. In the second division of the volume, government dockyards are distinguished from commercial docks, and are dealt with separately. The treatment of the latter, which are distinguished as those of tidal and those of tideless ports, though necessarily condensed, is good, and in some respects minute. The comparisons which are made between the various ports and docks, as well as between the various kinds of breakwaters, are helpful and interesting, while the statistics in connection with the growth of trade and the relative importance of a number of the ports described, furnish an important element in the utility of the volume. As in the work on rivers and canals, the plates here are given in a separate volume, but are distinguished by a somewhat novel feature, which adds to their value. In most cases the figures in each plate are drawn to the same scale, and several of the plates are similar in scale. The scales also are given definite proportions. The advantages of this method of illustration are obvious. Each volume of text is provided with an ample and useful index, and the two works form an able and lucid exposition of the principles and practice of hydraulic engineering as applied to navigation and commerce both maritime and inland. They contain an immense mass of accurate and valuable information, well and clearly put, and deserve to be read not only by the engineer, but by all who wish to see how human skill and perseverance can overcome nature, and by all who are interested in the growth and development of our trade and commerce.

The Harvest of the Sea. By JAMES G. BERTRAM. London and Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1885.

'When a book passes a second edition,' Mr. Bertram remarks, quoting Sir Walter Scott's saying, 'it has got beyond the reach of criticism.' His own book has long since got beyond a second edition, and is now in its fourth. The critic, therefore, has simply to record its re-appearance, and to congratulate himself upon the fact that having so done he has for once discharged his duty in a manner which will in all probability prove satisfactory to the public and to the author as well. Anything more on the critic's part will probably be regarded as a work of supererogation, if not as an impertinence. Still, Mr. Bertram writes in such good humour, with so light a pen, and his book is of such intrinsic excellence and withal so entertaining that we may venture to say one word in commendation of it. Mr. Bertram has subjected its pages to a thorough revision and brought its information down to date. This fourth edition of the *Harvest of the Sea* may be regarded, therefore, as an improvement on all previous editions, and as in all respects a thoroughly reliable work on pisciculture and on all that pertains to the important and somewhat perplexing question of our fish supply.

Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the River Tweed. By WILLIAM SCROPE, Esq. Illustrated by Sir D. WILKIE, Sir ED. LANDSEER, etc. Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1885.

The Field Sports of the North of Europe: a Narrative of Angling, Hunting, and Shooting in Sweden and Norway. By Captain L. LLOYD. Enlarged and Revised. Same Publisher.

Mr. Morison is to be congratulated on the idea of reprinting these two delightful and instructive works. Both of them have been out of print and difficult to meet with for some time, and in their present excellent form will doubtless prove extremely acceptable to that increasing number of readers who take an interest in field sports. Neither of the works requires any commendation. Though scarcely so well or popularly known as Walton, Scrope deserves to be mentioned along with him, and all genuine lovers of the piscatorial art give him a place by his side. Captain Lloyd's work has undergone revision and enlargement at the hands of an editor, who may be said to have added to the value of the volume. Lloyd was an enthusiast in all that concerned field sports, and the Scandinavian peninsula seems to have been his favourite hunting-ground. He wrote, too, with a facile pen, and seems to have taken as much pleasure in record-

ing his adventures as in wielding the rod or following his quarry. Scrope's book, we should add, is admirably illustrated.

Du Langage et de la Musique. Par S. STRICKER, Professeur à l'université de Vienne. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1885.

If, whilst in a state of rest, with lips and eyes closed, we recall some well-known verse, at the same time directing our attention to our vocal organs, it will seem to us that we are speaking and pronouncing the several words interiorly. Similarly, if we think of some popular tune, we experience a peculiar sensation in the larynx, just as though we were singing interiorly. Starting from these facts Professor Stricker endeavours to ascertain what elements are necessary to enable us to constitute a word, to enunciate it, and to understand it. His researches are based on psychology, physiology, and pathology, as well as on a number of experiments which are the more interesting that each one can easily repeat them for himself. From a scientific point of view, Professor Stricker's little treatise derives its chief importance from the fact that, in opposition to the generally received theory that verbal representations depend mainly on auditive impressions, he maintains, that they are caused by the motor nerves.

Norwegian Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society, 1885.

The choice of Norway by the Religious Tract Society as the subject of its Pen and Pencil Sketches this year is, to say the least, singularly fortunate. The visits of two such distinguished personages to the country as the ex-Prime Minister, and the Heir Apparent to the Throne, have naturally directed the attention of the British public to it, and made many desire to know what kind of a country Norway is. Mr. Lovett's book is admirably calculated to satisfy this desire. The choice is fortunate on other grounds. Few countries lend themselves so well to effective treatment by pen and pencil sketches; and there is no foreign country in which we have so close an historical interest. It is impossible to forget that between ourselves and the descendants of the 'hardy Norsemen' there are ties of kinship, which centuries of separation have not sufficed to dissolve. And besides, as Mr. Lovett very justly observes, though the landscapes are very unlike anything to be seen in England, though the language is different, and the sights and sounds unfamiliar, the wholly foreign feeling experienced by the English traveller when in France or Austria, is in Norway entirely wanting. From some cause or other he feels that he is in a kindred land, and can with difficulty shake off the feeling that he is among 'kent faces.' Of the manner in which Mr. Lovett has executed his 'sketches' it is hardly necessary to say a single word. They are well chosen and well executed.

Among the pencil sketches are some of the finest bits of scenery in Norway, and some of its quaintest and most important buildings and antiquities. Here and there, too, we have domestic interiors and scenes from the social life of the Norwegians or Lapps. The letterpress contains, besides descriptions of places forming the subjects of the greater part of the illustrations, some exceeding interesting chapters on the old Norsemen, the present religious and political condition of the country, and the social habits and customs of its inhabitants. Altogether Mr. Lovett's volume may be pronounced, if not the most interesting in the series, equal to the best and most attractive of its predecessors.

Poems. By ANDREW JAMES SYMINGTON. Paisley and London : Alex. Gardner, 1885.

These poems are something more than the verses of a talented and cultured mind. They are full of poetry, and exhibit no inconsiderable skill in the art of versification. Mr. Symington is not only endowed with a fresh and vigorous imagination, he has the faculty of close observation and of communicating his thoughts and feelings respecting what he has seen in clear, intelligible and musical verse. The larger of his poems are for the most part descriptive, while as for the remainder, they are chiefly songs and hymns. The songs are sweet, and several of them are well adapted for music. Of the hymns, 'Night and Morning' deserves to be mentioned as really beautiful, being far less theological and more expressive of human hopes and sentiments than hymns usually are. To this it doubtless owes its popularity. Among the descriptive the most deserving of notice are 'Sketches in Lochlomond,' 'A Walk to Elderslie,' and 'Wild May Flowers.' In the verses on Beethoven's music those who know anything about the works of that prince of musicians will find much which they have felt and longed to say, said for them. Perhaps, however, the most characteristic feature of Mr. Symington's poems is their suggestiveness. There are few of his descriptive verses which are not well-weighted with thought and reflection.

Bits of Brazil, The Legend of Lilith, and other Poems. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT, Author of 'Songs from the Sunny South,' &c. London : Longmans, Green, & Co., 1885.

We have already had to record our opinion that Mr. Grant's poetic powers are of no mean order. His versification is perhaps, at times, a little rugged, but it is always vigorous ; and his descriptions of tropical scenery are no less vivid than his sketches of the prairies. Where all is good, selection is probably more a matter of individual taste than of actual merit ; but 'Pigmy Pampas' and 'Sunset Still' strike us as especially

beautiful pictures. Mr. Grant's poetry is characterised throughout by a thoroughly manly and healthy tone, both mental and moral, a characteristic evidently by no means due to dulness of sensibility. Mr. Grant can see the dark and insoluble problems of our unfinished life as clearly as any one, but he has the strength to wait patiently till the fulness of perfected life shall make the dark places light. This thorough healthiness of tone is a not too common characteristic of poetry, and it is one which we earnestly hope may always continue to be a marked feature in Mr. Grant's publications.

Wallenstein: a Drama. By FREDERICH SCHILLER. Done into English verse by J. A. W. HUNTER, B.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1885.

If by use of the phrase, 'done into English verse,' Mr. Hunter means to deprecate his work being tested by the rules of translation, he has been needlessly diffident. A translation the book is, and a very good one. It must be apparent that in 'Wallenstein's Camp' very close rendering of the original is an impossibility. Mr. Hunter seems to us to have come as near to literal accuracy as is possible, and he has thoroughly caught the spirit of the scene, which is, under the circumstances, the most important point. We must, however, take exception to his rendering of the Cuirassier's song.

'Tis there in the balance the heart is thrown,
The noble and base dividing '—

is surely a far-fetched translation of

'Im Felde da ist der Mann noch was werth;
Da wird das Herz noch gewogen.'

In 'The Piccolomini' and 'Wallenstein's Death,' Mr. Hunter can be, and is, more literal; but we think him hardly so successful. In the more serious and tragic parts of the drama he is a little wanting in dignity and melody. Our English lack of inflections is a terrible stumbling block in the way of translation from German, but untrammelled to a great extent by the exigencies of rhyme, we think Mr. Hunter might have often turned his sentences to greater advantage, and gained more of the stately melodious flow of Schiller's verse. Nevertheless, the translation is a good one, and should prove a very useful one to students of German. Did space allow, we could cite many instances of very admirable renderings of the German text; and Mr. Hunter never falls into the error of securing verbal accuracy at the cost of awkward ill-constructed English sentences.

The Wanderings of Ulysses. By Professor C. WITT. Translated by Francis Younghusband. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1885.

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The Wanderings of Ulysses. By Professor C. WITT. Translated by Francis Younghusband. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1885.

To those who have read Professor C. Witt's *Myths of Hellas* and *The Trojan War* this little volume will need no recommendation. The story of the wanderings of the son of Laertes, the wise Ulysses, is here condensed into little over two hundred pages, and told with the same charming simplicity as was the narrative of the Trojan war in the volume to which this forms the sequel. The translator has done his work with singular skill. As a reading book for children we can conceive of nothing better. We should like to see the whole of the series introduced into our schools whether classical or English. We are sure that none of the children into whose hands it may be placed will be disappointed with it, and we are greatly mistaken if it does not meet with the approval of those whose studies are long since passed. To this volume an index has been added of the proper names, in which a very successful attempt has been made to indicate their ordinary English pronunciation.

Urbana Scripta. Studies on Five Living Poets, and other Essays.

By ARTHUR GALTON. London: Elliot Stock, 1885.

The six essays which form the principal contents of this volume are here and there distinguished by acute criticism, and contain not a few very just remarks. The critical spirit, Mr. Galton believes, has taken possession of modern poetry, and the contention which he strives to make good is that 'this spirit not only enables us to see our own poetry clearer, but is shown in some of our poetry, that our greatest living poets are the first fruits of its efforts, because they seem, each of them, to interpret not only our own age, but some other as well, whose spirit they have seized.' In support of this contention he passes in review the works of Lord Tennyson, Mr. Browning, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Swinburne, and Mr. W. Morris, pointing out that each while in a measure reflecting his own age, understands and interprets some other. 'Lord Tennyson and Mr. Browning,' he remarks, 'are like nineteenth century poets, who have had a vision of other times, and who have brought them down to us, the times of mediæval knights, and of Renaissance ecclesiastics. But Mr. Arnold is like a Greek who has come from his own age to interpret ours to us, so fully has he seized the spirit of Athens, its thought, its standpoint, its views of life.' The idea with which Mr. Galton is occupied is probably not particularly new, but he has done good service in giving prominence to it.

At Any Cost. By EDWARD GARRETT. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1885.

Mr. Garrett's story is short and interesting. There is perhaps a little too much preaching in it, but what there is is wholesome and elevating. The plot of the story is hinted at rather than skillfully wrought out, and

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strikes one as somewhat fragmentary. Some of the characters are well drawn, though here again there is a want of elaboration. Perhaps, however, for the class of readers Mr. Garrett has in view his story is sufficiently elaborated, and there can be no doubt, for all such, those, namely, who are beginning life, his book is well suited, and contains many excellent and helpful lessons.

A Divided House. A Study from Life by ANNIE S. SWAN.
Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1885.

Miss Swan has, we believe, been a successful writer of descriptions of Scottish Life. In her present story there are abundant proofs that she has adventured herself in scenes with which she is imperfectly acquainted. One of her English characters says—'We will miss him very much.' 'He will have fallen in with Harry likely.' Another asks—'I wonder what like he will be?' There are odd little mistakes about London which will make any Londoner smile, and the Kendals are as unlike an English county family, as the Blakes are unlike their class in London. For the rest the story is briskly told, and is neither tedious nor long; but it will not take very high rank among its class. The latter part is much better than the earlier chapters, and we should think the book likely to be popular among young people. It would have been an advantage if Lord Ravensmere had remained 'Ravensmere,' and not become 'Ellesmere' as the story goes on. There is always a want of good taste in giving a fictitious character an actually existent title. In this case we suppose it has been a blunder, but it would have been better avoided.

Onnalinda. A Romance by T. H. M'NAUGHTON. London:
Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1885.

Mr. M'Naughton's spirited appeal on behalf of the Red Indians is one in which every right thinking person will heartily sympathize. Little as is generally known regarding the Indian tribes of North America in this country, there are probably few educated people who are not aware that were the case of the red man stated before a just and competent tribunal, the verdict must be a damning one for the white man. At the same time, we cannot but think Mr. M'Naughton would have served his purpose better by treating the subject more entirely from the historical standpoint. An admixture of romance always leaves a doubt where history ends and romance begins, and is too often made use of for exaggerated and misleading representations to allow anyone to accept it without some misgivings. The story is told with spirit and vigour, and Mr. M'Naughton's versification has force and power, if wanting somewhat in polish. *Onnalinda* and *Glinting Star*, we admit, we accept with some misgivings. *Onnalinda* appears to us a very conventional type of heroine; and we feel very sure that *Glinting Star* would not have contented herself with standing and

screaming, while her lover was in imminent danger of perishing at the hands of a single assailant.

The Laird's Secret. By JANE H. JAMIESON. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1885.

'The Laird's Secret' is written in a bright attractive style, and some of the characters are very well drawn. The writer is a sturdy Presbyterian, but is not exactly an authority on Episcopal procedure. Here is a rather remarkable statement. 'I don't think they go all the lengths that Charteris goes, for all that; neither do the Andersons,' replied Tom. 'He must be pretty tolerably extreme, when even the Bishop refused to consecrate this place; the clergy had to do it themselves.' The plot of the story is its weakest part. The incident of Harriet Fety James's marriage is a very forced and unnatural one; and the bigamous entanglement at the end of the volume, with the shipwreck as a *Deus ex machina*, is very absurd. To a veteran reviewer the most amusing part of the whole thing is the sudden cropping up of our long lost friend the irrepressible Jesuit, and this time in the character of a *Scotch factor*! This is a new departure with a vengeance. We shall have him Moderator of the General Assembly soon. For all these blemishes, however, the story is interesting, and written with power. If the writer can only succeed in mastering the art of constructing a really good plot, she will be entitled to rank high as a novelist.

Adrian Vidal. By W. E. Morris, author of 'No New Thing,' 'Madmoiselle de Mersac,' 'Matrimony,' &c. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885.

Adrian Vidal will in no way tarnish Mr. Morris's well earned laurels. He possesses a somewhat remarkable power of writing a story with the merest thread of a plot, and dealing with very commonplace characters, and yet sustaining the interest thoroughly from first to last. The picture of the gradual rise and progress of the estrangement between Adrian Vidal and his wife is cleverly drawn, as are the characters of the wicked old lord, and his equally wicked wife; and the patient unflinching endurance of Heriot is a pathetic sketch. The amount of skill required to sustain the interest of such a story as *Adrian Vidal*, through three volumes, is not likely to be fully appreciated by any save those who have had some experience of novel writing; but the book may be cordially recommended to all readers, as thoroughly interesting, and characterised by most commendable healthiness of moral tone.

Old and New Theology: a Constructive Criticism. By Rev. J. B. HEARD, A.M. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1885.

It is quite true, as Mr. Heard remarks, that the present age seems to

stand in an attitude of hesitation between the theologies of the past and future; but he seems to us to speak too despairingly of the prospects of theology, when he tells us that it 'sits like Theseus turned to stone, "sedet aeternumque sedebit. Infelix Theseus."' His own book, in fact, may be taken as a witness against the truth of his assertion. The truth is we think, theology like all things else, is touched with the *Zeit Geist* of which Mr. Heard speaks, and can no more resist the pressure of modern thought and progress than science can. Theologians may try to resist this pressure, and may succeed, but that is an entirely different matter. Theology, or what we imagine is the same thing, the prevailing conceptions of the universe and God, or men's religious ideas, expand and develop all the same. Of this fact Mr. Heard's volume contains abundant proof, and as we have already hinted is itself a sign. The aim which Mr. Heard has set before him in its pages is to re-state with the aid of modern discovery and speculation the central doctrines, or perhaps we should say the leading ideas of Christian Theology. The doctrines he deals with are the Being of God and His relation to the universe; the mode of our acceptance with Him; redemption, its place and purpose; the nature of revelation and the interaction of the human and divine will in what is known as inspiration; the destiny of man here and hereafter. Mr. Heard's treatment of these vast and difficult subjects, though a little discursive, is on the whole searching, forcible and enlightened. The constructive part of his criticism is quite as effective as its destructive, and will scarcely fail to carry conviction to the minds of his readers. The work is emphatically a book for the times, and will help many who are struggling with the perplexities of the old dogmas to discern the soul of truth they contain. Mr. Heard loyally accepts the doctrine that the Bible contains the word of God, and regards its revelations, when interpreted by the believing conscience, as constituting in all matters of theology the final court of appeal.

Religion without God and God without Religion. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. I. Positivism and Mr. Frederic Harrison. London: Bemrose & Sons.

If we may judge of the whole work of the Rev. William Arthur from this first part which lies before us, it will form a very substantial and valuable addition to our religio-philosophical literature. Mr. Arthur's exposition of Comte's *Politique Positive* and *Philosophique Positive*, is clear and vigorous, and his exposure of both Comte's and Mr. F. Harrison's logical blunders, scientific inaccuracies, and 'sieve-bottomed' words and phrases is scathing, but not unjust. His pages sparkle with wit, and his illustrations are always happy and to the point.

Professor Drummond and Miracles (Alex. Gardner) by 'A Layman' is a trenchant and successful criticism of Professor Drummond's now famous

Natural Law in the Spiritual World, written from the orthodox evangelical point of view. 'A Layman' objects strongly to the Evolution theory, and sees in Professor Drummond's book an attempt to link this theory on to Christianity, or to use his own words, to tabulate true Christianity on the lines of Darwin, and to assimilate dogmas and others such like, with the Christian religion. Beginning with the scientific doctrines of the absolute uniformity of nature, a Layman puts to Professor Drummond a number of very serious questions respecting the origin of life and the possibility of miracles. He points out, too, the silence of the Professor respecting some of the principal events and doctrines of the Christian faith, and then passes in review chapter by chapter the whole of his book. The criticism is fair, and not a few points are made. As might be expected by those who have read the book carefully, a Layman does not fail to note the misleading character of many of Mr. Drummond's analogies, and the exceedingly dismal issues to which some of his teaching inevitably leads. A Layman has shown his mastery of the subject with which he deals, and has written what must be admitted to be a very damaging critique of what seems to be regarded by many as little less than a new Gospel.

In *The History of the English Bible* (Alex. Gardner, London and Paisley) Mr. H. P. Cameron tells the story of the various attempts made to render the inspired Hebrew and Christian Scriptures into the English tongue. Beginning with the Anglo-Saxon versions he gives an account of the translations made by Alfred, Ælfric, Bede, Hampole, and others, and then of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Miles Coverdale, and their successors in the work down to the present time. The story is told with brevity and simplicity. Here and there we have a digression, historical or otherwise, which is not without interest. Mr. Cameron has consulted the best authorities, and his statements so far as we have examined them are reliable. It is scarcely correct, however, to say that in the monastery of Clugni Abbot Hugh had ten thousand monks under his charge (p. 61). Doubtless he had something like that number under his charge as head of the Cluniacs, but they were not all housed in Clugni. On the whole, however, the work is admirably done, and may be recommended as pleasantly and attractively written.

The Elder's Prayer Book, by the Rev. W. Campbell (Alex. Gardner, London and Paisley), is a very useful little manual, and will be found exceedingly helpful by many besides elders, who are called upon to administer religious comfort to the sick and bereaved. Altogether it contains fifteen prayers and selections from Holy Scriptures suitable for reading in various cases of sickness and bereavement. The passages of Scripture are well chosen, and the prayers are simple, direct, and full of human sympathy. They are neither rhetorical nor abstrusely theological, but such as any devout mind can and will cheerfully use in the circumstances they have been written for.

In his usual clear, forcible, vigorous English Dr. Matheson has, in the

small volume *Moments on the Mount* (James Nisbet & Co.) clothed many original and interesting thoughts. His style is so exceedingly clear that a careless reader is not unlikely to skim a certain amount of meaning off the surface, and go away with the impression that the book is a trivial one. There is a certain class of minds in which obscurity and depth are synonymous terms. In his preface Dr. Matheson speaks of his design 'to furnish points of suggestion to the student who is a prospective preacher.' He has done far more than this. If we may be pardoned a homely metaphor, he has provided essence of thought, very much condensed, and therefore so portable, that that large class who have little time for steady reading and study, but a good deal which they can occupy in thinking as they go about their various daily tasks, can easily carry about with them portions which will furnish them with abundant food for reflection.

The fact that Dr. Dods' little volume, *The Prayer that Teaches to Pray* (Hodder & Stoughton) has reached the 'fifth edition,' is proof of what we should have judged to be probable, under any circumstances—that it is calculated to be popular with a certain school—the orthodox evangelical school. We should imagine also that the treatment of the petition, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' would highly commend it to that large class which is 'intent on making the best of both worlds.' The physical digestion of an ostrich is a trifle compared to the mental digestion of a human being in respect of logic, so long as a doctrine be palatable. For ourselves we must allow that as regards 'The Lord's Prayer,' we find Dr. Dods rather flat after St. Augustine.

By those who are familiar with Dr. Macdonald's first series of *Unspoken Sermons* his second series (Longmans, Green & Co.) will be heartily welcomed. The Sermons are distinguished by the same spirituality of thought and the same clearness of vision as were those of the former series. They are better fitted for attentive reading in the closet than for hearing from the pulpit; and no one who desires counsel and guidance amid the perplexities of the religious life will rise from their perusal without profit.

Communion Memories (Jas. Nisbet & Co.) This last of Dr. Macduff's volumes is interesting and informing as well as edifying. The introductory chapter along with the sermons and table-address, some of which seem to have been here turned into private meditations, will give a very vivid and pleasing idea of the services held in connection with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Scottish Presbyterian connexion to any who have not been present at those services. An appendix is added, in which Dr. Macduff gives some account of the history of the Sacrament.

Present Day Tracts, Vol. VI. (Religious Tract Society). This volume, which closes the current series of the *Present Day Tracts*, is taken up with the discussion of doctrinal subjects, and is intended to meet the doubts and difficulties many within the Church feel on the doctrines of which it treats, and to confirm believers in their faith. The first paper is an application by Dr. Blaikie of

the argument from design, and deals with the adaptation of Bible religion to the needs and nature of man. In the second Mr. Sayce adduces the evidence furnished by the monuments of Egypt and Western Asia to prove the minute accuracy of the Bible as a collection of historical documents and its existence in early times. The third paper is by Dr. Murray Mitchell, and deals with the Hindu Religion after the same manner as he dealt with the old Persian Religion in the last volume of the Tracts. The Rev. J. Radford Thomson contributes a somewhat learned account of Pessimism, exposing its absurdity and its inadequacy as a philosophy of life. In the fifth tract the Rev. W. Arthur discourses of the divinity of our Lord in relation to the atonement. The sixth and last paper is by the recently appointed Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who takes for his subject the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper as our abiding witness to Christ's death. The tracts are opportune and useful, being well written by thoroughly competent writers, and pervaded by the spirit of thorough conviction and an anxious desire to set the truth in the clearest light.

Galilee in the Time of Christ (Religious Tract Society) is the sixth volume of the 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge Series,' and gives a bright and picturesque description of Galilee and the Galileans in the time of our Lord. The author is the Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., the United States Consul at Jerusalem.

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, is the third of the new series of books, published by the Tract Society, called 'Introductions to the Books of the Bible.' The object of the series is to present the latest results of the best scholarship in connection with the Books of the Bible in such a form that they may be appreciated by those who have neither the time nor the qualifications for long courses of study. The idea is good, and the series, if the rest of its volumes are executed as well as the one before us, ought to be of great service. Though he has probably little or nothing that is absolutely new to tell, Mr. Sayce has brought to the elucidation of the three books he has undertaken to write about, the best and most recent information bearing upon them. The story of the fall of Babylon is told from the annals of Nabonidos and the cylinder-inscription of Cyrus, the narrative of the three books is retold, and comments and explanations are added from Assyrian, Babylonian, and other sources. Mr. Sayce identifies the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther with Xerxes, and regards Cyrus as a polytheist.

Quest (Trübner & Co.) by Thomas Sinclair, is a thoroughly healthy and bracing little work. The essays, of which there are some sixty, are brief but full of acute criticism, well and tersely put. Many of Mr. Sinclair's utterances may prove unpalatable, partaking largely of the nature of plain speaking; but they are all the more deserving of attention on that account. Small though it be, the book is not one to be read in a hurry, but deserves to be carefully pondered over.

Work and Wages (W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) is a reprint of eight of the most interesting chapters in Professor Thorold Rogers' well-known treatise, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. In this cheap and handy form the chapters ought to be widely circulated and read.

In *Wesley Anecdotes* (Tract Society) Mr. John Telford, B.A., has done the same for Wesley as was done some time ago for Luther. The anecdotes have been carefully chosen, and serve to illustrate in the clearest way the life and sentiments of one of the noblest saints the English Church has produced.—Dr. Macaulay's *Gordon Anecdotes* (Tract Society), however, will probably appeal to a much wider class, and secure more numerous readers. It is at least an inexpensive and, though touching, pleasant memorial of one whose memory will live in the annals of his country and be recalled with pleasure as long as heroism and devotion to duty retain their hold on the human mind.

Tales of Old Lusitania (Swan Sonnenschein, & Co.) is a little volume of Portuguese fairy-tales, translated by Miss Henriqueta Monteiro from the collection of F. A. Coelho, and forms a companion volume to her translation of Consiglieri Pedroso's Portuguese Tales. The stories are briefly and simply told, and have a charm about them which makes them extremely popular among children.

Mr. George Eyre's *Sage of Thebes* (Elliot Stock) is not without poetic merit, and shows great facility in verse-making; but it is scarcely equal to the *Lady of Ranza*. The Sage is placed in many awkward predicaments, but from one temptation he might have been spared.

In *Anno Domini* (Religious Tract Society) the Rev. J. D. Craig Houston of Belfast has endeavoured to give a clear and vivid description of the political and social condition of the world at the Advent of our Lord, and so far as his space has permitted, may be said to have succeeded. Into about a hundred and sixty pages he has managed to crowd a variety of information sufficient to give any reader of ordinary intelligence a pretty accurate conception both of the Jewish and the Gentile world at the time of which he writes. A much fuller may of course be obtained from the more elaborate works of such writers as Hausrath, but to those for whom Mr. Houston writes his work may be commended.

The third volume of *The Contemporary Pulpit* is equal to any of its predecessors. It contains many excellent sermons and outlines, and is distinguished by one or two new features. Those who use this kind of literature will find the work helpful.

The issue in a popular form of Sir J. W. Dawson's charming work, *The Chain of Life in Geological Time*, (Religious Tract Society) calls for a word of welcome. The work has undergone a thorough revision, and the latest discoveries respecting the primeval forms of life on the globe have been incorporated. In its present form the book should have a wide circulation. It is profusely illustrated; and we warmly recommend it to all who wish

to become acquainted with the fascinating story of how the various forms of life have been developed in the ocean and on the face of the earth, and how the solid crust of the earth has been gradually built up.

The Monthly Interpreter. Edited by the Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. Vol. I. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1885.—The indefatigable editor of this new theological magazine has gathered around him an able staff of contributors, and deserves to be congratulated on the completion of his first volume. The variety of its contents says much for his skill as an editor, while the contents themselves sustain the reputations of their various authors. Foremost among the latter, deserves to be mentioned the series of papers by Professor Bruce on 'The Kingdom of God.' Here and there Professor Bruce follows Professor Reuss somewhat closely, but on the whole his papers form a valuable contribution to the interpretation of the subject with which he deals. Dr. Matheson contributes three excellent papers on 'Christ's Exaltation in the Epistle to the Hebrews,' 'The Continuity of the Sermon on the Mount,' and 'The Three Christian Sympathies.' In a very useful paper, Dr. Gloag gives an excellent account of the 'Early Syriac Versions.' Mr. Barnaby discusses the 'Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' but does not advance the solution of the question. Capital papers are contributed by Dean Plumptre and Canon Rawlinson. All the papers, we need hardly add, are well written and scholarly. Foreign theological periodicals deserve to be treated at greater length.

The Cornhill Magazine (New Series, Vol. IV. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885), still holds its place as the best of the sixpenny monthlies, and deservedly so. Its pages are always instructive and entertaining. In the present volume we have variety enough for all classes of readers, and no page which is not interesting. The longer stories are represented by the Editor's 'The Talk of the Town,' which has already become a favourite; 'Court Royal,' by the author of 'John Herring'; and Mr. D. Christie Murray's 'Rainbow Gold,' which promises to increase very considerably its author's already well-established reputation. Science is admirably represented by the papers entitled 'The Rise and Progress of Photography,' 'A Very Old Master,' and 'Big Animals.' A very well-written paper gives a charming sketch of 'Charles Dickens at Home.' In 'Recollections of Buddhist Monasteries' and 'Reminiscences of Foochow' we learn much that is of interest about the ways and religions of that strange people the Chinese. 'Next-of-Kin Agencies' tells some strange stories and explains the method adopted by the agencies of which it treats. Besides these the volume contains a variety of other papers, all of more or less interest. One or two of the shorter stories are excellent.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

VESTNIK EVROPY (European Messenger, July).—The number commences with a sketch of country life, by N. J., entitled, 'Good People.'—'Thoognaag,' or Sketches of Afghanistan, by D. Ivanoff, is concluded. It gives an interesting description of the Afghan border-land, and of its practical relation to Cabul and its neighbours in Central Asia.—'Our Dear Friend,' the translation from Guy de Maupassan, is concluded.—'Volga and Kieff,' by Professor A. N. Pypin, is chiefly devoted to ethnographical questions.—M. L. has a biographical sketch on 'Edward Bulwer.'—D. O. contributes 'The Cloister of Pecheng in Russian Lapland.' This cloister, founded many centuries ago by the Russians, was the most northern representative of Christianity. It was destroyed by the Swedes in the 16th century. The writer relates its interesting and almost romantic story, not only religious but also commercial, for the monastery had commercial dealings with Holland and England.—'The Clerk of a Peasant Community,' by N. Areff, is the story of the adventures of a young man who for several years acted as clerk in a peasant's community, and is a good study of the rural life and customs of the emancipated serfs.—'A Musical Feast,' by W. Z., is a letter from Smolensk about the unveiling of the monument of the great Russian composer Glinka, the composer of the opera, 'A life for the Czar.'—Follows 'New documents about the Empress Catherine's Commission. This commission existed about a century ago, and was intended to create an administrative system in the empire. It laid the foundation of the existing system in Russia.

VESTNIK EVROPY (August).—The story 'The Clerk of a Peasant Community' by N. Areff, is concluded.—'Reformation and Catholic reaction in Poland' by N. Kareieff, is the first of a series of highly interesting articles, and contains two chapters: (1) The Reformation in Poland judged by History; (2) Polish Society at the beginning of the Reformation, and the causes of the latter.—'Sublime Art' by T. Potapenko, is a very well written story of the disappointments of a novelist, who writes for money and its enjoyments, and gains neither.—'The Cloister of Pecheng,' by D. O., is concluded.—'Provincial People,' by Vlad. Abramoff, is the description of the life of a correspondent, and of a hard-working squire, evidently taken from life.—'Professor Kavelin and Ethnography' by M. J. Koulisher describes the work of the late above-named professor, in its practical and scientific aspects.—'Pessimism and Progress,' by Krasnoselsky, is a study of modern pessimist philosophy, and of the relation between pessimism and progress. The author endeavours to account for the present spread of pessimism by showing the mistakes of modern philosophers, and tries to destroy pessimism with its own arms.—'A Virgin Nook,' is a story by N. P.—'The Ethnography of Little Russia' by Professor Pypin, is a criticism of the ethnographical work published by Prince Zertelev and M. A. Maximoff.—Trifenoff has a biographical and critical sketch on the great composer Robert Schumann.—'Is War Inevitable' by N. S-sky, is a critical essay on books recently published by Mr. Toujakoff, Part 1st. The Anglo-Russian Strife, 2nd. Afghanistan and its Neighbours.—Professor Pypin writes on the opening of Radistcheff's Museum at Sarason.

VESTNIK EVROPY (September).—Two more chapters are given on the 'Reformation and Catholic Reaction in Poland' by N. Kareieff, one on the Home Policy of Poland and the Reformation in Europe, the other on the beginning of the Protestant movement, and Government in Poland.—The story 'The Virgin Nook,' and 'Pessimism and Progress,' by Krasnoselsky, and 'Robert Schumann' by Trifenoff, are concluded.—'All Classes in One Family' is a story by T. D. Aksharonoff.—'Don Quixote's Philosophy' is an essay by Professor

Storejenke, Professor Pypin's article on 'The Ethnography of Little Russia' is concluded.—Then comes 'The Meeting of Anthropologists in Germany' by M. J. Koulisher, 'On a New Volume by Karl Marx' by L. C-sky.

КНИЖКА НЕДЕЛИ (Books of the Week).—The numbers for the past three months contain little of importance. The principal contents are:—'In the Workshop' by A. Taranzoff, 'The Memoirs of a Russian Artizan,' 'Sketches of Metropolitan Life;' a poem by T. Tolmacheff; a diary in verse supposed to be written by a gentleman from the provinces visiting St. Petersburg for the first time; 'The lost Branch' by D. Sibiziak; a narrative concerning Russian sectaries and Protestants; 'Hebrew Silhouettes' by N., some very good sketches of the Jews inhabiting Russia; and 'The Complaint of a Provincial Gentleman,' a tale in verse by T. Tolmacheff.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 1).—In a comparison drawn between Gregory VII. and Leo XIII., Signor Bonghi points out the changes that have taken place since the eleventh century, rendering impossible the supremacy of the Pontificate over princes and governments. The sentiment of religious liberty, once alone defended by the popes against the lay powers, has grown in force, and become the intangible right of every part of every belief. Signor Bonghi opines that one must not despair of the Pope's being able to fulfil the important mission which is his duty. On the day that he acts in conformity with his own intelligence, he will have public opinion on his side.—Professor Zumbini discusses Klopstock and the great Modern Epics.—In the present part of 'New Romances,' E. Neucione criticises favourably Mathilde Serao's new novel, *The Conquest of Rome*, comparing it with Hawthorne's *Transformation* as a picture of modern Roman life. By a curious coincidence, the *personages* in both novels are rather artificial. The critic advises Miss Serao to use her great powers of description in illustrating the drama of humanity, giving preference rather to the internal than the external. Everything may be hoped for from her happy genius, and her accurate and delicate observation.—C. Boito continues his paper in favour of preserving the ancient monuments.—F. Gabelli, in a paper on 'The Metropolitan Railway,' expresses the belief that, owing to unfavourable conditions, the growth of the Italian capital will not be rapid. In spite of all efforts to improve the Campagna Romana, there is still, he remarks, a desert outside the walls of Rome, and the malaria, or the fear of it, empties Rome during three or four months of the year, when the traffic of the city is reduced to one half and commerce languishes. At present, Rome is only the nucleus of what it will eventually become—that is, a great city of two or two and a half million souls—but all modifications of the existing lines of railway and new ones contemplated should be undertaken with regard to the future spread of the capital.—(July 16.) In a lively paper on 'Paris and Turin in 1643,' A. d' Ancona describes those cities from the diary of Abbé G. Rucellai, who accompanied Monsignore Corsi when the latter was sent thither as ambassador by the Tuscan Court.—'Father Christopher in Romance and in History,' is a paper by Luizi Sailer, who relates the story of a famous Capucin friar, whose character has a remarkable likeness to that drawn by Manzoni in the *Promessi Sposi*.—A short original story by A. Fogazzaro, entitled 'Maestro Chieco's Failure,' is full of the humour and graphic touches of that author.—In the review of foreign literature, De Gubernatis briefly mentions the book *Society in London*, saying that the author, unlike many French writers on the same subject, has a thorough knowledge of what he describes.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 1).—David Silvagni gives a historical account of the Castle of Count della Rovere.—'Pietro Bemba and Lucretia Borgia,' is founded principally on Gregorovius' book on Lucretia Borgia.—The paper, 'Turin and Paris in 1643,' is concluded.—F. d' Arcais, writing on the 'Musical Institutions of Italy,' maintains that the result of such institutions would be more favourable if the musical conservatories were freer of the government.—The rising authoress, Matilde Serao, commences a touching little sketch, with a long title, 'Life and Adventures of Reccardo Joanna.'—Rocco de Zerbi writes on 'The Magisterial Question and the En-

couragement of Reforms.'—(August 16.) A. Gabelli discusses the new school of penal law in Italy, blaming it for indulging in theory, and weakening the repression of crime by its great compassion for delinquents, caused by its recognition of physical and psychical defects as the causes of crime.—E. Nencione writes on 'American Poets,' and recognises Edgar Poe and Walt Whitman as the most truly national. He expresses great admiration for Whitman, and translates many of his poems.—G. Boglietti gives a vivid picture of Voltaire at the Délices and at Terney.—The article on Rome, studied from the ruins of the fifth to the fifteenth centuries, by O. Marrucchi, is concluded.—Matilde Serao's story is a very life-like account of a poor Neapolitan journalist and his little motherless son.—An Ex-Diplomatist discusses 'A Programme of Foreign Policy.'—The biographical bulletin speaks with much praise of the *Essays in Biblical Archaeology* published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (September 1st).—This number gives the first chapters of a new book shortly to be published, entitled 'Carlo Tenca and his Time,' by Senator Massarani. It is written in homage of the illustrious patriot.—Bice Benvenuti contributes 'The story of an Officer of the Seventeenth Century' revealed to her by the correspondence of an ancestor, Gian Battista Benvenuti, the officer in question, addressed to his family during the long war that followed the siege of Vienna in 1683. The sketch throws other lights on that stirring period than what we generally meet with. Gian Battista Benvenuti was born in Crema in 1658, and began his letters when he was eighteen years of age. His descendant, the writer of the present article, has chosen the most interesting and characteristic of his letters to illustrate her sketch.—Filippo Porena has a long paper on 'Geographical Science according to the latest Doctrines.'—(September 16th) A. Chiappelli has a paper on the recent discovery of the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, and promises an entire historical account of that ancient document.—G. Chiarini writes on the first years and writings of Pietro Giordano, from 1774 to 1809.—Then follow more chapters of 'Carlo Tenca'; the book itself will shortly be published by Hoepli. A. Cecchi gives an account of the Somali, one of the tribes of Assab.—G. Pennesi describes the Caroline and Palaos Isles, and, without entering into the question of the rights of Spain, gives a true account of their discovery, etc.—The *Rassegna politica*, speaking of the recent disturbances at Naples and Palermo, says that the two cities have suffered so greatly formerly that their alarm is not surprising; that the Italian Government has derived no assistance from the Sanitary Conference so lately held, which indeed only served to increase the confusion of ideas, and this fact must excuse the hesitation and errors of the ministry.

THE ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO.—5th issue of 1885, contains: 'Documents relative to the Process of Pier Paolo Vergerio,' by L. A. Ferrari; 'Rawdon Brown,' by A. Reumont; 'The Travels and Map of the brothers Zeno, 1390-1403,' by C. Desimoni; 'The Memoirs of Prince Metternich,' a criticism, by L. Zini; Scaduto's 'Church and State,' by G. A. Venturi; Brentano's 'History of Bassano and its Territory,' by D. D. Bortolan; 'Historical Studies in Terra d'Otranto,' by E. Aar.

RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (July 1).—After the continuation and conclusion of the two articles on 'The Origin of Contemporaneous France' and 'G. de Cesare,' by G. Boglietti and N. Castagna, we have in this number a paper on the 'Conversations of Manzoni,' by C. Fabris, giving much interesting description of Manzoni's house and habits, etc.—A. N. D. Mospignotto commences a paper on the interesting subject of the 'Campanile of Giotto.'—F. Bardi's 'Studies of Social Questions' treats in this number of the economical problem of the Tuscan Colony.—G. Cassani replies to Bonghi's article on the 'Curia Romana and the Crown of Portugal' by one on 'Portugal and the Holy See in the Indies.'—U. Ugolini writes a short political article, 'From Europe to Asia.'—(July 16.) C. Vojnovic has an article entitled 'The Slav and the Greek (Edipus).'—L. Grottanelli gives an account of one of Muratori's co-workers.—G. F. Airolì contributes a second part of his 'Logic in the American Democracy.'—Professor Stoppani

commences an interesting and exhaustive paper on 'Amber,' the first chapters being on amber in history.—A. di Castania discusses the vast theme of 'Political Anomalies, Modern Reform, and Evolution.'—G. Grabinski continues his paper, from the number of the 16th November last, on 'Religion and Italian Interests in Palestine and Syria.'—Miss H. Zimmermann has a short article on Dr. Murray's New Dictionary.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (August 1).—This number commences with an article on 'Florence and Instruments of Measurement,' by Professor Mennucci, in which the writer traces the history of astronomy from the earliest times, and indicates the share Florence has had in the development of the science.—A. Galassi has a long article on 'Modern Inventions at the Turin Exhibition.'—T. Roberti publishes 'A Number of Unedited Letters by a noted Literary Man of the Eighteenth Century, Clement Vanetti,' which give a picture of that day.—G. Conti gives a short account of the trial and execution, for the murder of her husband, of a lady of Trani in the sixteenth century, who, on account of her beauty, was called *La Greca*.—Continuing his studies on the social question, J. Spotti commences an article on the question of bread.—C. Cipolla describes a document on 'Freemasonry and the Carbonari,' written about 1820, by a Freemason, probably a Venetian.—Then follows a monograph, by A. Peppi, on the Italian poet, Achille Mauri.—Professor Conti writes, in the form of a dialogue, on the question of nationality.—(August 16.) The first article, by G. and R. Corniani, is on Italians in the Argentine Republic, and deprecates emigration thither.—J. del Badia writes a notice of a late publication, the 'Letters of Benedict IV. to Pier F. Peggi at Bologna.'—Then follows another portion of the paper on 'Comte's Positivism,' by J. Isola.—The 'Bread Question' is concluded.—This number's chapter on 'Amber,' by Professor Stoppani, treats of the introduction of bronze among the ancient Italian peoples.—P. Manassei has a political article on 'The Land-Tax.'—G. Rondini continues an interesting account of the popular traditions and customs of mediæval Siena.—A. Stalvio continues his articles entitled the 'Memoirs of Prince Metternich.'

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (September 1).—Commences with a fragment of an unedited work, by A. Rosmini-Serbatì, on the 'Natural Constitution of Civil Society.'—A. Mospignotti continues his chapters on the 'Bell-Tower of St. Maria del Fiore,' as does L. Roschi his account of Tonquin.—A. L. B. notices a lately-published French pamphlet, *Une Alliance Possible*.—Y. writes on 'Father Curci and Christian Socialism,' declaring the father's work worthy of consideration by the governing class.—E. Schiaparelli criticises Abbé de Broglie's *Problèmes et Conclusion sur l'Histoire des Religions*.—P. Fea has another chapter of 'Alexander Farnese in the Netherlands,' describing the French campaign and the relief of Paris.—Professor de Johannis replies to an article in this magazine by E. Montaldo in one entitled 'Public Economy in Italy.'—(September 15.) T. Sissone writes on 'Italian Agriculture.' He concludes by saying that only when commercial education shall have opened the minds of the Italians, and when the resources of multiplied traffic have produced abundant capital, can it be hoped that Italy will take the position to which she is destined by nature, in the economic movement of the civilised world.—R. Farini discusses 'Modern Physical Theories.'—A. Stoppani's chapters on 'Amber' treat of the amber commerce during the Etruscan epoch.—C. Guisti gives the 'Anecdotal History of the Vulgarisation of the Two Testaments,' by Abbé Antonio Martini, who was employed during many years in translating and commenting on the New Testament.—Angelo Valdarnini writes a short monograph on Jeremy Mamiani.—A. de Johannis writes on the unsuccess of the monetary conference in Paris.—R. Mazzei writes briefly on the 'Liberal Law for the Protection of Economic Interests.'—The chapters on 'Alessandro Farnese' are continued.—E. Marchionni commences a paper on 'Judicial Reform in France.'

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (July 9th).—The first article, treating of the Pope's discourse on the day of the Corpus Domini, is entitled 'The Pope Combats.'—A paper follows explaining the Church's right to freely preach the gospel and interpret and define christian dogma, obliging the faithful to assent to what it

decrees. There are more chapters on 'Cellular Composition and Animal Individuality,' and of 'The International Countess,'—(July 18th.) Following up the leading article of the previous number, is one entitled 'The Pope Conquers,' the author asserting that the Holy Father has already begun to gain the victory. There will come a day in which the civil States will implore help from the Pope, who will be able to say 'I alone have conquered.'—Another chapter of the 'Catholic Thought in Contemporaneous Italy,' treats of catholic reform.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (August 1st).—An article on the 'Colonial Empire of Italy' blaming the strife of parties, prophecies that the failure of African colonization will be paid for in due course of time by the national monarchy in Italy.—The articles on 'The Rights of the Church,' and 'Linguistic Study' are continued.—(August 15th.) The second number for this month commences with a few words on the Pope's last allocution, deploring the hostility to which the Church is subject.—An article on the liberty of the Church, and the modern State, concludes by saying that in order to conciliate the Christian Church and the Masonic State, it would be necessary either that the Church should become Masonic, or the State Christian, but in that case the Church would no longer be itself and the State would cease to be modern.—An article follows on 'Two grave Questions contained in the Pamphlet by Cardinal Pecci,' the one being predetermination and the other the medium science.—Then come more chapters of 'Cellular Composition.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July).—With the exception of the second instalment of 'Dans le Cloître' a clever and interesting story contributed by Mme. E. Maurice, and of the half-dozen 'chroniques' which are full of miscellaneous information and anecdotes, the contents of the present number will be found unusually dry reading. The paper devoted to the agricultural crisis in Italy is able and thoughtful, but can scarcely be expected to interest a very wide circle of readers. It is followed by the second and last part of an article in which M. A. de Verdilhac goes over well-known ground and recapitulates the various views, which have so often been enunciated with regard to 'England and Russia in Central Asia.'—To those readers for whom this periodical is primarily intended the most interesting paper will doubtless be the continuation of M. Arvède Barine's 'Social Life in England in the Time of Queen Anne.' Most people in this country, however, are too familiar with this epoch to find any very great charm in this boiling-down of Mr. Ashton's well-known book.—The last article which we have to mention is entitled 'A Philosophy of Nature,' and sets forth the somewhat peculiar views of a late Swiss philosopher, M. de May.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August).—The only article of general interest in the present number is a contribution to the history of the Spanish stage, from the pen of the late Marc-Monnier. It traces the rise of dramatic literature in Spain, and dwells at some length on these essentially Spanish productions which the writer has styled 'dramas de cap et d'épée.' The paper contains instructive details concerning Calderon, Lopez de Vega and the most important of the Spanish dramatists, and also deals incidentally with the influence of Spanish literature on the French stage, in the seventeenth century.—A second instalment of M. Léo Quesnel's 'L'amélioration de la condition des femmes,' enumerates the various attempts which have been made during the present century in favour of which he calls 'the advancement of women' and describes some of the institutions which have been founded with a view to utilising female labour.—In the conclusion of his sketch of the doctrines of a philosopher who does not appear to us to be deserving of the three long articles which have been devoted to him, M. Charles Byse states M. de May's views concerning what it is possible for us to know of the world beyond the grave.—Besides the numerous 'chroniques,' there are also two stories: 'Le Mari de Jonquille' and 'Dans le Cloître.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (July).—Dr. Beaunis's aim in the admirable paper on hypnotism which he entitles 'L'Expérimentation en Psychologie par le

Somnambulisme provoqué,' is twofold. In the first place he makes a very careful study of the psychological phenomena of hypnotism; but, beyond this, he endeavours to show the possibility of using hypnotism for the purpose of what he calls 'a moral vivisection.' At the outset, the writer details the various processes of hypnotisation, and incidentally quotes, from his own experience, some very interesting case of self-hypnotisation, notably that of a subject to whom he imparted the power of sending herself off into mesmeric sleep by merely saying: 'Doctor Beaunis send me to sleep.' From this, he proceeds to show the possibility of inducing hypnotic sleep during natural sleep, and also against the subject's wish. In the latter case, however, he admits that it is a necessary condition that the subject should have already been put under the influence of hypnotism. The most important and interesting part of the present instalment, however, is that which treats of memory and of suggestion. In connexion with the latter point, Dr. Beaunis states that he has succeeded in making a subject perform an action suggested during sleep 172 days previously, and, more startling than even this, he quotes an instance of the successful use of hypnotic suggestion for the cure of drunkenness.—To those whom the vexed question of women's rights may interest, we can recommend M. Ch. Secrétan's able paper 'La Femme et la Droit.' To quote his own words, the writer's object has been to recall two very simple and very evident truths, which cannot be directly challenged, but to which society persists in closing its eyes. The first of them is a principle; the second a fact. The principle is, that a class destitute of every regular means of exercising any influence on its own legal condition, is not free. The fact consists in this, that in settling the position of the opposite sex, male legislators have merely had their own interests in view.—Under the heading 'Varietes,' an excellent summary is given of Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'The Man versus the State.'—M. Pierre Gauthiez devotes a few pages to a refutation of the pamphlet in which Dr. Desdoutis has endeavoured to prove that Giordano Bruno was not really burnt to death in Rome.—Some interesting details concerning the preparation and the effects of hachich are contained in a paper communicated by some members of the 'Société de Psychologie Physiologique.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August).—The first article is a continuation of Dr. Beaunis's 'L'Expérimentation en Psychologie.' Following up his former remarks on suggestion, he examines to what extent the subject is able to resist it. All his experiments tend to establish the fact that though there may be a struggle in the mind of the subject, it is always useless. As regards the mental state of those under the influence of hypnotism, Dr. Beaunis expresses it as his opinion that there is an absolute cessation of thought, so long as there is no suggestion on the part of the operator. The whole paper concludes with some remarks as to the cause of hypnotic sleep.—The next contribution is from the pen of M. G. Lechalas, and is a study on the points of resemblance between painting and music.—In the last of the articles de fonds, M. Ch. Secrétan treats the abstruse and obscure question of evolution and liberty and enunciates his conclusion in the axiom that 'evolution is nothing else but the effort of liberty to assert itself.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July 1st and 15th).—The first of this month's numbers opens with the concluding chapters of M. George Duruy's new novel 'Le Garde du Corps.' It is undoubtedly a work of high merit; in point of style and language it will bear favourable comparison with anything we have yet had to notice in the lighter literature of the *Revue*; the characters are powerfully drawn, the interest is well kept up throughout and culminates in a catastrophe which, though but a variation on a hackneyed theme, must be allowed to be as original as it is tragic in its details. It is therefore highly to be regretted that a writer of such undeniable power as M. Duruy here shows himself to be, should not have thought it beneath him, even on the score of originality, if for no higher consideration, to base his plot on an episode such as we meet with in the reports of our divorce courts, but have the good taste to exclude from our magazines.—The next place is held by the comte d'Haussenville who, in an article to which he gives the sub-title 'La Prévoyance et la Misère,' continues his examination of

an important social question 'The Struggle against Poverty.'—A very able essay from the pen of M. Arvède Barine is devoted to George Eliot and founded not merely on the recent biographies by Mr. Cross and Miss Blind, but also on a minute examination of her works. In his appreciation of George Eliot's character, the writer attributes to her all the greatness and all the weakness of her sex; he refers many of the mistakes which have been made concerning her to the fact that her letters have conveyed a very general impression that she was as little of a woman as it was possible for her to be, and points to her career in proof of the fatal error into which those fall who think to simplify life, and to make it more easy by shaking off the restraint which the prudence or the prejudices of society impose.—M. Alfred Fouillée here concludes a paper on memory which though ably written, seems rather suited to the pages of a purely philosophical publication.—In the continuation of a political essay which is devoted to an enquiry into the future prospects of England's colonies, M. Cuheval-Clarigny treats more particularly of the feeling at present existing in Australia towards the mother-country and of the complications to which German interference has given rise. He represents colonial dissatisfaction—not to say disaffection—as having risen to such a pitch as to threaten an open rupture, and attributes the fear which the Australians pretend to entertain for their safety from the establishment of European settlements in islands separated from their continent by hundreds of miles of sea, to their jealousy of interference with their monopoly of native labour or, to put it in his own words, with the slave-trade which they carry on in these islands.—Of the remaining articles one deals with sculpture, architecture, and engraving, in this year's *salon*; the other reviews a history of the foreign policy of France during the revolution, whilst the *Revue littéraire* is devoted to pessimism as set forth in contemporary French novels.—In the mid-monthly number Mr. André Theuriot begins a novel, *Péché Mortel*, which threatens to be another addition to *crim. con.* literature.—To classical students who have not access to Heibig's masterly work on Homeric archaeology, we warmly recommend the article in which M. George Perrot summarizes the latest discoveries of the German scholar. They will find in it answers to the innumerable questions which naturally rise even to the least inquisitive mind on a perusal of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. They will learn what materials and what tools were at the disposal of the poet's contemporaries, how their houses were built, laid out, and decorated, how they themselves were adorned, what arms they used; in short they will be able to call up Hector and Achilles, Ulysses and Telemachus, Briseis and Circe, Andromache and Penelope not as the classical art of the time of Phidias has represented them and as they have been erroneously reproduced in all our textbooks of classical archaeology, but such as the latest discoveries made on the banks of the Alpheus and in the plains of Troy, show us the men and women of Homer's time actually to have been.—In a third instalment of the political sketch which he entitles: '*L'avenir de la Puissance anglaise*,' M. Cuheval-Clarigny deals with the African and American colonies, the Agra-Pequena incident being dwelt upon at great length, and the negotiations between London and Berlin with regard to colonial matters being characterized as a comedy in which England plays the part of Cassandre, and Germany that of Scapin.—In an able and laudably impartial paper, which he entitles: '*A French Department*,' M. René Belloc gives an interesting sketch of the social, political and religious state of France, outside the capital, and supplies a number of details which cannot but prove instructive to those who, knowing only Paris and the Parisians, fancy that they know the whole country and may judge of the whole nation.—The article to which M. Ernest Lavisse has given the title: '*Préliminaires de l'Histoire d'Allemagne*' presents a vivid picture of the state not only of Germany, but of the Gallic provinces generally under Roman administration during the first centuries of the Christian era.—In addition to the usual reviews and notices, there is also an anonymous article dealing with military reform and advocating two terms of service, one of six months merely, and another of five years, as well as an elaborate system of exchange from one class into another.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August 1st and 15th).—A varied and excellent table of contents is headed by the second part of '*Péché Mortel*,' as to the

literary merits of which M. André Theuriot's signature is a good guarantee, whatever exception may be taken to certain details of the plot.—In a further instalment of a paper which he entitles 'On Both Sides of the Danube'—*En deça et au delà du Danube*.—M. Emile de Laveleye gives a highly interesting sketch of Bosnia, bestowing special attention to its land laws and to its rural economy.—M. Henry Houssaye submits the conduct of General Moreau to a very searching but impartial examination in an article on 'The Capitulation of Soissons in 1814,' and makes it very clear that if he did not exactly deserve the name of traitor which Napoleon applied to him, the incredible weakness which he displayed was as fatal in its results as any planned treason could have been.—One of the most interesting of this month's papers is that in which M. Edouard Schuré traces the legend of the Buddha. It is an excellent summary of what has been written on the subject by such scholars as Leblois, Senart, Kern, Barth, Saint-Hilaire and Rockhill, and makes special reference to Edwin Arnold's 'Light of Asia,' from which numerous extracts are translated.—In the sketch of 'A French Department' which M. René Belloc here continues, the democratic movement in the country districts is more particularly dealt with. A number of portraits are introduced which, though generalised to suit the subject, are evidently taken from life.—The novels reviewed and, in some cases summarized, by M. Th. Bentzon in the article which he entitles 'Les Nouveaux Romans Américains,' are 'But yet a Woman,' 'Tales of Three Cities,' 'The Adventures of a Widow,' 'Rutherford,' 'Newport,' and 'Miss Ludington's Sister.' The critic speaks in terms of high praise of most of the authors, with the exception, however, of Mr. Arthur S. Hardy, of whose 'But yet a Woman,' he says that, in spite of the imposing number of editions which it has run through, it can be looked upon as a novel of Parisian life only by those who know nothing of Paris.—The publication of General Gordon's 'Journals' has afforded M. G. Valbert an opportunity for sketching the ill-fated expedition to the Soudan.—The 'Revue littéraire' deals with Alexandre Dumas, for whom M. Brunetière shows no very great admiration and whom he pronounces to be at best 'amusing,' and not always that.—In the second of this month's numbers M. André Theuriot concludes his unsavoury novel, 'Péché Mortel,' and we venture to hope that it may be followed by something more wholesome and more worthy of the *Revue*.—In an interesting historical sketch the Marquis de Vogüé shows us Villars as a diplomatist, and relates the history of his mission to Munich, the abrupt close of which, in 1689, was the prologue to the ruthless war which, during nine years, spread ruin and devastation through the valley of the Rhine.—Availing himself of the rich materials to be gathered from the elaborate works of Wauters, Rooses, van den Branden, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, M. Emile Michel has produced an excellent paper, in which the progress of landscape painting in the Flemish school is traced from its earliest and humblest attempts to the full development of Flemish art.—'I return to the public what it has lent me,' wrote La Bruyère at the beginning of his 'Caractères.' This remark being understood as a confession that his sketches were taken from nature, at once called forth a number of 'Keys,' in which it was attempted with more or less plausibility to ascribe an original to each picture. These various 'Keys' are the subject of a valuable study which bears the well-known signature of M. Paul Janet, of the Institut, and which we recommend to all students of French literature who may not have access to the only edition of La Bruyère in which the question is fully discussed, that published in the 'Collection des Grands Écrivains de la France.'—Zoitza, a pathetic Grecian legend related by M. Maurice de Vas, is followed by the conclusion of M. Belloc's 'Un département français.' Judging of the sketch as a whole we know of nothing from which more exact notions of provincial life, both in town and country, can be gathered.—The concluding article is a touching and eloquent tribute to the memory of Admiral Courbet, and bears the signature of 'Pierre Loti.'—M. Julien Viand—who, it appears, has again been placed on the active list, from which an indiscreet letter, which we noticed at the time, had caused his removal.

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REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (September 1st and 15th).—In the table of contents we notice the names of two naval officers, Pierre Loti and Vice-Admiral Juriën de la Gravière. The 'Propos d'Exil' of the former are a series of descriptions of scenes and episodes trifling in themselves, but clothed in language admirable at once for its purity, its eloquence and its pathos. Admiral de la Gravière is more matter of fact, though not less interesting. In an essay which he entitles 'Les Vieux Amiraux,' he shows us how the supremacy of the sea was acquired by such men as Doria in the past, and by what means it may be acquired and maintained in our own time.—M. Augustin Filon, whose name is connected with a history of English literature which is absolutely beneath criticism, has undertaken to enlighten his countrymen with regard to Lord Tennyson. The not very difficult task of giving them a summary of the chief poems has been done fairly well. When he ventures on original criticism he shows that he has not understood his author. Indeed, the translations which he gives incline us to the belief that his mastery of the English language is not very great. Those who know how the English word 'mylord' is used in French, will understand what a parody has been made of the line in Locksley Hall, which is thus rendered, 'Peut-être que mylord est las.' M. Filon has made the discovery that amongst Lord Tennyson's countrymen: 'Le goût n'est gu'un dégoût.' Unfortunately he has not added a foot-note to explain his brilliant epigram.—M. Havet contributes the first instalment of a very interesting and valuable monograph on Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. The present section deals with the persecution of Decius, which is represented as far less sanguinary than some historians have made it out, and with Cyprian's opposition to the supremacy claimed by the Roman See.—The only contribution to fiction is a translation by M. Th. Bentzon, of W. H. Bishop's 'Choy-Susan.'—One of the most notable contributions to the mid-monthly number is the conclusion of M. Havet's study on Cyprian. He here considers the Bishop of Carthage first as an orator, and then as a preacher, and closes with an account of his martyrdom. The whole monograph, which is written in a most liberal tone, is well worthy of the attention of students of ecclesiastical history.—Another important paper is that in which Professor Emile de Laveleye continues his sketch of the provinces on both sides of the Danube. In the present instalment he deals with Bosnia, indicates the sources of its wealth, describes the manners and customs of its inhabitants, and shows the progress which it has made of recent years.—'The Sword of Caesar Borgia' seems an unlikely subject for an historical essay. In the hands of M. Charles Yriarte, however, it appears not merely as a precious work of art, but, owing to the numerous inscriptions and designs upon it, as a valuable document which throws a light on much that would be otherwise unintelligible in the career of the son of Alexander VI.—Of the remaining articles, one is devoted to the narrative of a visit to the Balearic Isles, and is written by M. Guardia, the other, from the pen of M. Ferdinand Brunetière is a review of M. Taine's History of the French Revolution.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1885 Drittes Heft).—In the first number of this year the *Redaction*, in a short obituary notice which did little more than merely mention the fact of Prof. J. A. Dorner's death, and refer gratefully to his long connection with the *Studien u. Kritiken*, promised to give at an early date a fuller account of his work as a Theologian, and an estimate of his influence on the thought of the day. This work has been entrusted to his son Professor Dorner at Wittenberg, and occupies the place of honour in the number before us. It is in no sense a *biography* of the late Dr. Dorner, but merely an attempt to define his theological position, and show how his speculations contributed to affect his own mind and to influence public opinion. The son dwells lovingly on the practical purpose that ever lay near to his father's heart in all his labours, that, viz., of commending the Christian Faith to the scientific thinkers of Germany and elsewhere, and making it a living power in the hearts and lives of its adherents. After an interval of four years Dr. Hermann Weiss resumes his discussions *über das Wesen des persönlichen Christenstandes*.—Dr. Albert Klöpffer gives an elaborate and very able exposition of the twin parables of 'the new (unfulfilled) patch and the old garment,' and 'the new wine and the old skins.'—Professor H. Herring of Halle reviews the controversy regarding the authenti-

city of a document on the Book of Judges attributed to Luther, and recently discovered in a library at Zwickau.—Dr. C. Buchwald gives a short note on Luther's controversy with the ecclesiastical authorities at Wittenberg in 1523-1524.—Dr. Ed. Riehm reviews Francke's *Das alte Testament bei Johannes*; and Herr Steude, Dr. Schmid's *Geschichte der Erziehung*.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1885, Viertes Heft).—Herr Pfarrer J. Martin Usteri, who has contributed so much of late to the elucidation of subjects connected with the Reformation, here directs attention to the growth and development of the mental and spiritual life of the great Swiss Reformer Zwingli. The festival held lately in his honour led to much search after, and investigation into, everything connected with his career. His library was hunted out, and has been, so far as discovered, made the subject of a minute and painstaking examination on the part of Pfarrer Usteri; and from the books he read, the studies he pursued, and the people under whose influence he came, our author seeks to trace his early mental history, and to show the growth of his opinions. In this part of his sketch Pfarrer Usteri confines himself almost exclusively to Zwingli's studies in the 'Humanities,' leaving his ecclesiastical and religious development to be treated of in a future paper.—Dr. A. Dorner gives a minute account of William of Ockham's views as to the relationship of Church and State, tracing, as a preface thereto, the growth of the feeling of individuality in the mediæval Church, and the independence of the sciences of ecclesiastical control. He first describes Ockham's conception of the State, then his conception of the Church, and lastly of their relationship. In a fourth section he summarizes Ockham's position and teaching, under six heads.—Herr Pfarrer Vogt contributes a paper from the MSS. left by Bugenhagen on Henry VIII.'s Divorce and accompanies it with a commentary, as also one on Melancthon's 'Loc'i.'—Prof. Riehm subjects Dr. Karl Budde's recent work, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, to a searching examination, and is somewhat unsparing in his strictures upon it, and Dr. Paul Ewald gives a brief notice of Dr. T. Förster's *Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand*.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1886, Erstes Heft).—The first article in this number is what promises to be a very exhaustive history of the origin and growth of Mariolatry in the Christian Church. It is from the pen of Herr Professor Karl Benrath. This instalment, covering 94 pages, carries us as far in the history of the development of her worship as the year A.D. 842. It is divided into two sections. The first embraces the period from New Testament times to the meeting of the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, at which the teaching of Nestorius was condemned, and divine honours were decreed to Mary. This period Professor Benrath treats by itself as the 'period of controversy,' and traces in the literature and usages of the Church the gradual growth of the reverence for the mother of Jesus, from the respect universally accorded to her as such, up to the decreeing to her of the title 'Mother of God.' The period following he describes as the 'period of acquiescence,' and he traces, again from the literature and usages of the Church, the further growth of reverence for her up to the year 842.—Herr Pfarrer J. Martin Usteri continues, under the title, *Initia Zwinglii*, his 'contributions to the history of the studies and mental development of Zwingli up to the time when he began his work as a Reformer.' The data here produced are the result of a careful examination of Zwingli's library when a youth, and of the books he is known to have then had in his possession or to have read. He seems to have been fond of marking, while reading, all passages that particularly struck him and roused his interest, and to have made elaborate notes on the margin of all his books. Our author has made a study of these, noted the handwriting and compared it with that of his letters at various dates, to determine the year in which these notes were made. Herr Pfarrer Usteri has sought here also to trace the influences brought to bear on Zwingli by the people with whom he came into contact, and in this way to account for his culture and the turn his opinions gradually took. It is with his theological development that our author engages himself here, showing the effect his study of the Greek and Latin fathers had on him, his knowledge of the Hebrew, and his intercourse with scholars of his own day. The other papers are—Four Documents recently discovered of Bugenhagen's; a short exegesis of Romans II., 11-16, and a review of Luther's 'Letters.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July).—The opening paper, bearing the signature of Herr Guido Hauck, is a somewhat heavy dissertation on the 'The Limits of Painting and Sculpture, and the Laws of Relief.' The latter, in the writer's opinion, have been, as yet, but imperfectly stated, owing to the want of a proper understanding and definition of the limits which separate painting from sculpture. The fundamental difference between them, according to his theory, is that painting possesses light and shade in itself, whereas sculpture borrows these from an external source.—Herr Edgar Loening supplies a third instalment of his article on the administration of the city of Berlin. A most interesting section is devoted to a very detailed statement of the formation of the Poor Law Board, and of its work in the three departments of out-door relief, of in-door relief, and of the relief and protection of orphans, under which official designation are included not merely those children who have been deprived of their parents through death, but those also whose parents are either detained in prison or have been legally deprived of their parental rights. In connexion with this division of his subject, the writer points out the evil effects of the last war on the social condition of Berlin. In 1861, the amount expended on the relief of the poor was 724,701 marks (about £36,235), being an average of slightly more than 91 marks for each pauper. In 1874, the total expenditure had risen to 1,336,491 marks, representing an increase of above 84 per cent., and an average of nearly 154 marks. The returns for 1882 showed a farther increase of 86½ per cent; the gross amount having reached 2,492,666 marks, or £124,633, each pauper costing the city 135.28 marks, rather more than £6 15s. Details of no less interest are contained in that part of the paper which deals with the system of elementary and secondary education, from which we take the following figures. In the beginning of 1883 there were in Berlin 128 elementary schools providing free education for 134,000 children at a cost of 5,801,777 marks. Some idea of what is done for secondary education may be gathered from the fact that there are at present in Berlin 10 gymnasiums, 1 progymnasium, 7 realschulen and 2 oberrealschulen, attended by 13,363 children, and costing 2,256,728 marks, of which 1,201,511 marks are raised from fees and 1,051,217 marks added by the city. Besides these establishments, intended for boys only, there are four high schools for girls, on the rolls of which 3,531 were inscribed in 1883, and which, through fees, contribute 316,604 marks towards the 379,265 required for their up-keep.—The remaining articles are of less general interest. One of them, 'Flotten-Fragen' is a continuation of the reply to the papers published by M. Gabriel Charmes in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The other is an obituary notice of Prince Frederick Charles. There are also three letters from Arndt to his friend Karl Candidus, written between 1847 and 1851. They were communicated by Herr E. Martin of Strassburg.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (August).—The excellent biographical sketch of Dr. Emil Hermann, contributed by Dr. Rogge, will be read with interest by those who have followed the development of the Evangelical Church in Prussia, and indeed, in the whole of Germany, during the last three or four decades. Besides containing a very complete account of the life-work of the late President of the Evangelical Oberkirchenrath, it also retraces the chief features of a most important period in the history of the Church itself, that which is marked by the solution of the many difficult problems connected with its internal administration and the vindication of its independence.—The next article appeals solely to German readers, and probably to a limited circle amongst even these; it compares the development of civil administration in Saxony with that in Brandenburg.—Under the title of 'The Court of Yildiz-Kiosk' we have a very graphic and, in some parts, humorous sketch of court life in the palace of Sultan Abdul Hamid. The article is most readable throughout, and evidently from the pen of a writer intimately acquainted with all the details of his subject.—In a paper of considerable originality Herr Friedrich Nitzsch comments on a well-known line in the concluding part of Goethe's *Faust*: 'Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.' According to his theory, the words do not apply solely either to the Virgin, to Helen, or to Gretchen, but, in a certain measure to all three, to one as representing religion, to the other as typical of art, and possibly to the third also as the personification of sexual love.—The last item on the table of

contents deals with the condition of the German peasantry previous to the agrarian troubles of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (September).—The place of honour is occupied by what is certainly the lightest and most readable paper in the present number, the conclusion of 'Der Hof von Yildiz-Kiosk.' It shows us the Sultan's household to be on a footing very different from what those who draw their knowledge of Eastern life from the *Arabian Nights* may have imagined it. Magnificence and luxury are quite foreign to it. Its arrangements are neither costly nor particularly tasteful. In the writer's opinion Yildiz-Kiosk is no suitable residence for a sovereign whose empire is recognised in three continents, and who claims spiritual supremacy over the whole of Islam. Europeans may appreciate the motives of economy or prudence which have influenced Abdul Hamid's choice; it is not so with Orientals, who are apt to judge of a ruler's importance and political power from the pomp of his Court.—In a very lengthy and very solid article Herr Paul Börner discourses on 'The Future of Scientific Hygiene in Germany.'—Dr. Philippi does not provide pabulum of a much lighter kind in the fourth instalment of his 'Studies on the Variation of National Wealth in the German Empire,' but he has the merit of producing a great many statistical details which may prove useful to those who desire information on the subject.—In point of absolute literary merit as well as of scholarship the historical essay for which Herr Otto Seeck takes as his subject, 'The First Barbarian on the Imperial Throne,' must be allowed to stand very high. Whether the career of Maximinus possesses sufficient vital interest to be brought before us in the shape of a Magazine article is a question about which opinions may differ.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July).—The number opens with the last instalment of Herr Ossip Schublin's 'Gloria Victis!' one of the most powerful novels that the *Rundschau* has published of late years. It contains some excellent sketches of character, as well as a number of scenes of high dramatic interest.—In a paper of special importance at this time, Herr Albert Duncker communicates a number of letters from Emanuel Geibel to Baron von der Malsburg and other members of his family, as well as several poems and a number of biographical details which will be found most valuable for a proper understanding of the poet's life and works.—Herr Julian Schmidt, whose masterly essays we always welcome as a literary treat, contributes a most appreciative review of the fifth volume of Professor Mommsen's *History of Rome*. Whilst doing full justice to the veteran historian's admirable work, he does not hesitate to point out passages which appear to him deserving of criticism, and to challenge the correctness of certain judgments.—The very eloquent discourse delivered by Dr. Paul Gussfeldt in memory of his fellow-explorer, Gustav Nachtigal, is here reproduced. Nachtigal was born, in 1834, near Magdeburg. In early life he devoted himself to the medical profession, but being obliged to seek a warmer climate, for the benefit of his health, he spent several years in Algeria and Tunisia. This was the turning-point in his career. Whilst in Africa, he formed the resolution of continuing the work of Heinrich Barth. Selecting Kuka, the residence of the friendly chief Omar, for his head-quarters, he spent ten years in exploring the northern part of the African Continent. On the 20th of April of the present year, Nachtigal died on board the vessel which was bringing him home from Western Africa, where, of late years, he had been acting as Consul-General for Germany.—The paper which Dr. Otto Hartwig devotes to the architectural history of Florence, or, more correctly, to its topographical history, contains some interesting information concerning the gradual growth of the city of the Arno, and will be found useful by the student of its political history.—'Die Deutsche Seewarte,' contributed by Captain Nees von Esenbeck, is an instructive description of the work performed by the naval observatory at Hamburg, in the various departments devoted respectively to naval meteorology, to the construction and testing of instruments, and to the observations connected with the transmission of 'storm-warnings.'—In a paper somewhat heavy with statistics, Herr von Neumann-Spallart deals with 'The Transfer of the Commercial Centre of Gravity,' and

points to a time in the near future when the supremacy hitherto enjoyed by England shall pass into the hands of the United States.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—The most important and interesting contribution to this month's number is a posthumous essay from the pen of Karl Hillebrand. It deals with 'Conventionalism in French Literature.' It is a brilliant vindication of the language and literature of the age of Louis XIV., and we earnestly recommend it to the perusal of those who, guided by the unintelligent fashion of the day, profess to believe that the 'conventionalism' of the 'classical' period has exercised an evil influence on the originality of the writers who submitted to it, and affected their strength and manliness of character.—A further instalment of eight letters from Emanuel Geibel to various members of the Malsburg family, ranging from 1843 to 1868, constitutes the next item. It is followed by the first part of a political article on 'Russia and England,' from the pen of Herr F. Geffcken.—The connection between Goethe and Charlotte von Stein is made the subject of an essay, which is cleverly written, but which does not greatly add to our knowledge of either the poet or the woman who exercised such an immense influence on both his character and his works.—Dr. A. Schricker contributes a sketch of the career of Eugen Neureuther, an artist whom he styles the 'father of German illustration.' He is chiefly known by his illustrations of Goethe's work, but his success in later life was not equal to that which these early efforts seemed to promise. Readers will be thankful to Dr. Schricker for having introduced into his paper extracts from the correspondence between Neureuther and Goethe, which are the more valuable that the letters from which they are taken are not included into the ordinary editions of the poet's correspondence.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (September).—This number opens with a short story, 'The Four Penitents,' written by Herr Hans Hoffmann.—The next contribution, which, in point of literary merit, deserves the place assigned to it, treats of 'Frederick the Great as a Philosopher.' The author, Herr E. Zeller, lays before us, in a clear and able manner, the history of the king's philosophical opinions, and shows us from what opposite extremes they gradually developed. In the domain of speculative philosophy, the extremes between which he struck a compromise were the rationalism of Leibniz and Wolff on the one hand, and Anglo-French empirism on the other; in the sphere of practical philosophy, the antagonistic principles which he endeavoured to reconcile were those of the Stoics and those of Epicurus.—Lady Blennerhassett's name again appears on the table of contents, this time opposite an article dealing with George Eliot, whose life and works are examined and analysed in a spirit of great fairness and moderation.—Herr Heinrich Geffcken contributes the last instalment of an article in which he considers the questions at issue between England and Russia. Even those who are not prepared to endorse his opinions or to adopt his views must at least admit that they are forcibly and clearly set forth, and that they are founded on a thorough knowledge of the delicate subject. His conclusion, which takes the shape of a prophecy, cannot but prove interesting to those who are looking forward with some anxiety to the result of the approaching elections: 'If the elections return to the Lower House a majority resembling that of the present Parliament,'—the article was written in July,—'or one having an even slighter appreciation of England's position as a power (England's *Machtstellung*), the country will continue its downward course with ever-increasing rapidity; for Lord Burleigh's saying will remain true—England will never fall except through her Parliament.'—Professor Dr. Kraus devotes a paper to the old question of the invention of printing, and, as may be imagined, solves it in a manner not unfavourable to Gutenberg. It is perhaps worthy of notice that, however proud he may be of his great countryman's discovery, Dr. Kraus is of the number of those who incline to the belief that it has been productive of more evil than good.—Fiction plays but a subordinate part in this number, the contributions to it being merely two short sketches.—A short paper from the pen of Herr Albert Selss contains an able summary of General Gordon's diary, and is worthy of notice as being a warm tribute of admiration to the memory of the hero whom, 'not England only, but the whole world mourns.'

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (July).—In this number the table of contents is headed by Herr Adalbert Meinhardt with a quaint little story which he entitles 'Meister Gerhard.' In addition to this, lighter literature claims another item in the shape of the first part of a novelette from the pen of Herr Hieronymus Lorin, who was not very happily inspired when he gave his otherwise praiseworthy contribution the peculiar but not very appropriate name of 'The Latin Peasant.'—In an exceedingly interesting paper Herr Gebhard Zernin describes, with both pen and pencil, the mountain fortress of Hohenasperg in Württemberg, traces its military history, which includes several important sieges, and concludes with some details concerning three of the most remarkable of its inmates since it became a State prison, Joseph Süß, well-known through Wilhelm Hauff's sketch, the poet and journalist Schubart, and the novelist Berthold Auerbach.—An historical essay contributed by Herr Julius von Pflugk-Harttung brings under our notice one of the most important amongst the secondary characters in the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor during the latter half of the twelfth century. One of the most striking features about Reinald, the subject of this paper, is that although a churchman, and Archbishop of Cologne, he was throughout an active and uncompromising opponent of the temporal power claimed by the Roman Pontiff.—'Robert Burns, Scotland's Immortal Poet' is the subject which Herr Otto Baisch has treated in an article not less remarkable for the knowledge which it displays of the life and works of our national bard than for the sympathetic spirit in which it is written. The translations given by Herr Baisch of a few characteristic passages are excellently done.—The papers descriptive of foreign countries—we might almost call these a speciality of the *Hefte*—are two in number; in the first of them Herr Ernst Koppel takes the reader through Copenhagen, and shows himself an interesting and reliable cicerone; in the other, Herr Frauze Reuleaux concludes the narrative of his excursion to New-Zealand. Both contributions are profusely illustrated.—The last item which we have to notice is a short article dealing with quinine, and bearing the signature of Herr August Vogel.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (August).—The opening pages of the second of this quarter's numbers are devoted to the conclusion of Herr Hieronymus Lorin's story: 'Der Lateinische Bauer,' which is readable, if not of absorbing interest. Fiction is further represented by a simple, but touching tale, founded we believe, on an episode within the author's personal experience, and fully deserving of the flattering note from Herr Theodor Storm which prefaces it. It bears the signature of 'G. Dur'—a pseudonym, we presume,—and is the more remarkable that it is the writer's first attempt in this *genre*.—Moscow has been chosen for the subject of this month's instalment of what, if published in a collected form, might take the title of 'The Great Cities of the World,' and Herr Ludwig Pietch, who here acts as guide, has performed his task with a skill which raises his contribution far above the level of the ordinary 'Gazetteer' to which papers of this kind are too apt to sink.—Herr Adolf Müller's paper on 'The Predatory Life of Mammals and Birds' might aptly figure as a chapter in a natural history, here, it seems somewhat out of place, for whilst, on the one hand, readers at all familiar with the subject will find little new in the details which he supplies, on the other, those for whom it may be new, will find it too technical and too dry to be enjoyable.—Herr Woldemar Kaden undertakes to relate some of the 'Old Stories' which Signor Molmenti has unearthed from the Venetian archives. In reality there is but one story, and that not highly interesting. The remainder of the paper consists of a very cursory sketch of the rise of Venice, and of a disquisition concerning the historical basis and probable date of Othello. The only favourable thing to be said about it is, that the illustrations are good, though the subjects of them are rather hackneyed.—In 'Ballooning and its Prospects,' Herr Gustav van Muyden does not show a very thorough knowledge of his subject. He is able to relate some of the attempts which have been made to steer the air-ship, but he nowhere enunciates the principle on which it has now been recognised that all such attempts must be made, which is, that steering is possible only when the independent velocity of the balloon itself is greater than the velocity of the wind.—Herr Max Ring has made the career of the Markgräfin Frederica of Baireuth, the favourite

sister of Frederick I., and the friend of Voltaire, the subject of a most interesting historical essay which has, however, the one fault of treating with far too great partiality the conduct of the royal maniac Frederick William I.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (September).—Considerable space has been devoted to light literature, in this number. Of the three complete stories which it contains, Herr L. Haidheim's 'Die Sassen von Dürrstein,' is worthy of the place which has been assigned to it at the head of the table of contents. The humorous sketch which Herr Woldemar Kaden has translated from the Italian of Signor Emilio de Marchis is excellent of its kind. The third contribution 'Der Narr von Firlejowka,' is a touching episode, though it scarcely deserves the designation of 'novelette,' which Herr Leopold v. Sacher-Masoch gives it.—Here as in the *Rundschau* a very appreciative article is devoted to the late Gustav Nachtigal, the well-known traveller and explorer. It is from the pen of Herr Alfred Kirchhoff.—A paper, contributed by Herr Wessely gives an interesting account of the most important sepulchral monuments of Rome. Amongst the many illustrations which accompany it we notice with interest one which represents the monument erected in St. Peter's to the last of the Stuarts, James III., as he styled himself, and his two sons.—In following Goethe through the picturesque Jägerthal, Herr August Becker has not contented himself with merely retracing the poet's wanderings. He has embodied, in an eminently readable sketch, the most varied information concerning the literary and political history of the Alsatian valley.—The geographical contribution to this number bears the signature of Herr Helmut Polakowsky and consists of a description of that part of America to which the Spaniards gave the name of El Dorado, and which the writer identifies with that part of Columbia known as Cundinamarca.—Germany's latest attempt in the way of colonization gives a kind of 'topical' interest to the paper in which Herr Richard Schillbach relates the history of the short-lived colonies which, the 'Great Elector,' as the Germans delight to style him, established on the west coast of Africa some two hundred years ago.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (July).—Has an important study of Proverbs i.-ix. by Dr. Oort, which contains in the first place a critical apparatus on this part of Scripture, with a number of corrections and suggestions of new readings, and then a discussion on the composition, authorship, place, and date, etc. The loose arrangement, Dr. Oort holds, does not prove that different parts of the work are by different writers, but only shows a want of order and style on the author's part; and the individual portions also show that he had no gift of consecutive exposition. The work consists of fragments, but that is all we can say. The date must be after the establishment of unity of worship, i.e., after Deuteronomy, probably after Ezra. The 'strange woman' is a heathen woman, and the warnings with respect to her are meant to discourage mixed marriages, such as Ezra and Nehemiah dealt with so thoroughly. The scene is a town, a town in which a heathen population and a Jewish are living side by side. The wisdom spoken of is mainly respect for the authority of the Scribes, who are at the head of every department of life. The spirit of the age is one from which all freedom and spontaneity are in the act of departing; Rabbinism has not yet come, but is on the way, and there is nothing in the religious position of this work to act as a barrier to it.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (September).—Prof. Kuenen in an article on 'the Criticism of the Hexateuch, and the History of the Religion of Israel,' eases himself of his adversaries, who, while accepting the new critical view of the composition of the Hexateuch, refuse to admit that it involves the view of Jewish history set forth by Kuenen and Wellhausen. Graf Bandissin is one of the German critics who wish to resist the conclusion drawn from the new criticism, that the earlier religion of the Hebrews was of a radically different complexion from the latter, and that the prophets, and after them the priestly legislation, entirely changed the views of their people on religion. For the sake of the orthodox Church laity, Professor Smith's first set of lectures has been translated into Dutch; but he will not help the Dutch to believe that the religion of Israel was the same in the time of Samuel as in the time of Ezra. Dr. Meyboom gives a Dutch translation, with notes, of the lately discovered Teaching of the

Twelve Apostles; and promises another article dealing with that work. Dr. J. J. Prins, noticing Prof. Paul Schmidt's book on the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, defends the authenticity of that epistle.

DE GIDS.—In the July number Prof. Van der Wyck discusses Guyau's new 'ethics without obligation or sanction,' and concludes that this title involves a contradiction in terms, as a science of human motives which takes no account of the notion of duty is not ethics at all—a conclusion regarding this most interesting work in which most will agree.

DE GIDS.—The August number has a paper on Mr. Lang's 'Custom and Myth,' by Prof. Chantepe de la Saussaye, who appears well versed in the anthropological and folklore studies of this country. He finds that Mr. Lang has a hobby which he rides hard as well as the mythological interpreters of fairy tales and the interpreters of them from language. While the mythologists look in every tale for the sunrise and the storm, Mr. Lang looks for totems and exogamy. He allows credit to Mr. Lang, however, for not insisting on a universal application of his new method, and while censuring him for his flippancy and premature assurance, concedes to him the great merit of having made fairy tales historical evidence in a new way, as telling of the manners and thoughts of far back ages. —We hear from the *Gids* that the new Rijks-museum at Amsterdam has this summer been opened, and that the glorious works hitherto half concealed in the small dark rooms of the Trippenhuis, are now displayed in large and well-lighted halls. Schutterstucks and characteristic early Dutch works have been contributed by citizens of Amsterdam to make the collection in its new abode more worthy of the Dutch nation. —Baron van Haeckeren writes long papers on Pope in the August and September numbers, and translates many of his finer pieces into Dutch.

DE GIDS.—In the September number Prof. C. van Manen gives the first half of an account of Pontiaan van Hattem, the founder of the Dutch sect of Hattemists. The narrative of the settlement in his charge of this worthy, who lived in the latter half of the 17th century, of his relations with his parishioners, the prosecution raised against him by his clerical brethren, and of the conventicles he set on foot after his deposition, is mostly taken from old records of the various Church Courts which were or felt themselves called on to deal with the matter; and the result is an exceedingly lifelike and interesting picture of the church life of the period. All the joys and sorrows of a heresy-hunt are set forth in the most barbarous and pedantic language probably in which the minutes of Church Courts ever were framed, and we see ecclesiastical tyranny in full swing in Kirk Session, Presbytery and Synod, as well as in ministerial visitation and manse gossip. The mirror is held up effectively, while of course undesignedly, to Scottish Churchism; what a curse a Church can be that is too strong, and how the State may prove the guardian of religious liberty, we see here set forth. Dr. van Manen very strangely neglects to say what Van Hattem's alleged heresies were: from stray expressions we gather that they were somewhat like the Row doctrine, and both in his fortunes and in the kind of influence he exercised before and after deposition, the Dutch heretic strongly remind us of the greatly ill-used, now much lamented, Dr. Macleod Campbell.

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"Indian Teas have long been popular among those who are familiar with the wholesale market, and the qualities and properties of the Teas of different countries, but unfortunately they have been generally used only to render palatable and saleable the inferior Teas of China. Indian Teas are impounded in the wholesale market to blend with common China Tea, so that Teas hitherto sold as Indian are, as a rule, nothing but inferior China Teas cunningly mixed and manufactured."

The "Family Herald" says—

"When once the palate has grown accustomed to the peculiar flavour of Indian Tea it is said to be greatly preferred to Chinese Tea, by reason of its superior delicacy and strength."

"Allan's Indian Mail" says—

"For strength or flavour, no Tea has yet equalled that of Assam, Silhet, and Cachar, which is now largely used in England to fortify the cheaper and more tasteless China Teas."

The "Overland Mail" says—

"Indian Tea has been popular enough in the market for some years; but, as Indian Cultivators know, it is mainly consumed in making common parcels of Tea from China palatable and saleable."

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS—Continued.

Lieut.-Col. Money, in his *Work on Tea Growing in India*, says—

"Indian Tea, in spite of its superior body and strength, and the greater economy in its use, can only be obtained in its pure state in one or two shops in London and Glasgow, unknown to the mass of the people."

"The Bazaar, The Exchange and Mart" says—

"In all ways we found Indian Tea to be what it is stated to be—a pure article with an excellent flavour."

The "Edinburgh Courant" says—

"Indian Tea is remarkable for its body and strength compared with China Tea. On that account it is the common practice of dealers to mix Indian Tea with inferior qualities from China; thus giving to what would otherwise have been tasteless comparative excellence. The flavour of Indian Tea is particularly rich, and the taste pleasant."

The "World" says—

"Indian Tea is becoming day by day a greater favourite with the best judges. It is strong, pungent, with most agreeable flavour, and the better it is known the more it will be liked."

The "Weekly Review" says—

"INDIAN TEAS.—High authorities tell us that the Tea Plant is Indian in its origin, and that its natural home is in Assam and the adjoining district. High authorities, too, maintain that Indian is superior to China Tea, possessing in greater measure the stimulating and invigorating properties, which have made the beverage so highly and so widely prized."

The "Christian Union" says—

"It is the duty of every British family to encourage the demand for the Tea of our Eastern Empire, and we can assure our readers, who may not have carried their patronage in this direction, that in *Price, Strength of Quality and Delicacy of Aroma* they will soon discover the Indian Tea to be a great improvement on what they may hitherto have been using."

The "Times" says—

"During the last twelve years, the imports of Indian Tea into England have increased more than 350 per cent., while those of China have actually decreased from what they were five years ago. This is satisfactory in so far as it exhibits, not only an increased consumption of non-intoxicating beverages, but also an actual appreciation of those good qualities and that freedom from adulteration for which Indian Tea is celebrated, and which have led to its largely increased importation."

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